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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PAPAL STATES,

FROM THEIR

ORIGIN TO THE PRESENT DAY.

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BY

THE REV. JOHN MILEY, D.D.

AUTHOR OF

"ROME UNDER PAGANISM AND THE POPES."

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

T. C. NEWBY, 3, WELBECK STREET,

CAVENDISH SQUARE.

1850.

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HISTORY OF THE PAPAL STATES.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

This memorable proceeding, which has left its impressions in effects the most lasting and beneficent on the face of the civilized world to the present day, was primarily occasioned by an atrocious attack on the Pontiff, Saint Leo III,* as, in the third year of his reign, and, on St. George's day, he was proceeding from the Lateran to San Lorenzo *in Lucina:* the church where the procession was to form, in order to proceed thence to the station in the Velabrum—the valley between the Capitol and the Palatine—where stood the church of Saint George.

The names and offices of the two leaders of the conspiracy are known to us. The exact scene of the atrocity itself, we also know. How the chief conspirators, Paschal and Campulus, presented themselves to the Pope, were benignly received with forgiveness and his blessing, notwithstanding

* An. 799.

the irregularity of their demeanour: with what Iscariot-like duplicity, they fawned on the object of their treason: the suddenness and fury with which, at a remote point, far away (more than a mile) from where the faithful were assembled in prayer, the assassins sprung, sword in hand, from their ambuscade; how the terror-stricken attendants—mostly acolytes and clergy, and all unarmed—were scattered: how, dragged to the ground by the arch-traitors, the sacerdotal robes were torn off the person of the successor of the Apostle, his body covered with wounds and bruises; how, under cover of the night, for securer custody, they hurried their victim, after striving to tear out his tongue and his eyes, from the monastery of Saints Stephen and Sylvester where the deed was perpetrated, to the strong cloister of Sant' Erasmo, on the Cœlian mount; and how, having been thence rescued by Albinus, the cubicularius, with other "faithful, God-fearing men," and hailed on his arrival at the Vatican with outbursts of acclamation, mingled with canticles of praise to heaven for his miraculous deliverance, the Pontiff, issuing forth from thence by the gate of Saint Peter beyond the Tiber, was met, first, by Duke Winichis of Spoleti, at the head of his vassals, and, afterwards, by the chief personages, prelates, and princes, from all the cities and provinces of the states, as he proceeded on his journey beyond the Alps—all this, with the outrages committed by the "malefactors," in the Pope's absence, as also his

triumphal reception on his return, on the vigil of Saint Andrew the Apostle, the same year, is related with hearty earnestness, but confusedly, by the ancient biographer. His mind, however, it would appear, was so absorbed in recording the horrors of the sacrilegious attack he had witnessed, that he has left us completely in the dark, both as to the motives of the conspirators, and as to what were the objects they hoped to effect. Where Sigonius found for it, the authority on which he states it, we are not aware, but he says that Campulus, who had been treasurer, —Sacellarius—and Paschal who had been Primicerius, or prime minister, in the preceding pontificate, were driven, together with their chief accomplices, to this criminal attempt, by disappointed ambition and revenge. Some of them apprehended that they were to be deprived of certain advantages dishonestly obtained during their hold of office, while others had been rebuked for their personal vices.* From his epistle to Charlemagne upon the subject, the blame would appear, in the opinion of the celebrated Alcuin, to attach to the Roman people at large. "Behold," he says, "on you alone does the Church of the Redeemer, now menaced in its head, repose its defence: upon you, whose function it is to chastise crimes, to curb the lawless, console the persecuted, and exalt the good. In the Roman see,

* "Illos ira acuebat, quod acta Hadriani nonnulla Leo rescindere moliretur, hos pudor, quod proprias vitæ sordes acriter idem insisteret insectari."—*De Regn. Ital.* 4. *an.* 798.

where, erewhile, religion and piety were culminating in the greatest splendour, has not impiety the most atrocious revealed itself, to the scandal of the whole world? Their own hearts being blinded, they strove that their head also should be deprived of his sight. It would seem as if the fear of God, and wisdom, and charity, had abandoned that people; and, where these virtues are wanting, what of good can there be? If they had the fear of God, never would they have offered such an outrage to his vicar; and wisdom as well as charity, had they been found amongst them, must have withheld the arm of the assassin. As was predicted, the Church is in dangerous straits. However it may be with the other members, the head, when it is wounded, must not be neglected."* This greatest scholar of the age in which he flourished then goes on to recommend a cautious and clement course of proceeding in this emergency: evident, though it is, that his prepossessions against the Romans were of the darkest—for the urgent solicitations even of his royal patron and pupil, the most Christian King of the Franks, could not prevail on Alcuin to forsake his Abbey of Fleury at Tours, and accompany him to the Papal city. But that his censure, in this instance, was more sweeping than it would have

* "Nonne Romanâ in Sede ubi religio maxima pietatis quondam claruerat, ibi extrema impietatis exempla emerserunt? Ipsi cordibus suis excæcati excæcaverunt caput proprium."—*Albin. Ep.* 4. *t.* 1. *antiq. lec. apud Baron. an.* 799. *n.* 6.

been, is evident, had his remote position allowed him to become better acquainted with the real facts of the case.

In the first place, it is patent on the face of the primitive narrative, that no public cause was championed by the conspirators, but that, as Sigonius expressly states, it was by foul and factious passions, they were instigated to lay violent hands on the Pope. They proceeded by ambush and treachery—they selected a point the most sequestered and remote from the scene, where, as we have said, the mass of the Roman clergy and people were assembled to receive the Pontiff, and assist in the religious festivities: had the sympathies of the Romans been with them, they would have taken the very opposite course. It is true, that, infuriated on finding the Pontiff had escaped from their hands, the devastations which they spread through the city, where they first, not only plundered and then destroyed the palace of Albinus, (" the true-hearted vassal of the blessed Peter the Apostle,") but also served the Lateran in the same way—would shew that their numbers were great: no one, however, will be startled at this, who is familiar with the doings of the Frangepani, the Crescenci, or the Colonna, in aftertimes—between whose factions and those of Campulus and Paschal, there is more than one strong point of resemblance.

There is even some ground for supposing, for in the ancient narrative the matter is confused and dubious, that they had the daring to pursue their

captive; and that, when Duke Winichis and his horsemen came riding with speed to the rescue, they found the traitors endeavouring to carry Saint Peter's by storm. But, from what happened on several other occasions, (witness the dragging from the altar on Christmas night, the wounding, and violent captivity, of Saint Gregory VII, by Crescentius) as well as from what is passing under our own eyes at present,* it is not difficult to reconcile such manifestations of violence and ephemeral triumph with the fact, that the "malefactors," as they are called by the ancient biographer, were far from enjoying the general support or confidence of the Romans.

Besides, it is not less manifest from the original statement—which though clumsy, and but too obscure in many respects, is still vividly tinged with the complexion of the events as they happened—that not only were the Romans, as a people, on the side of the Pope, and opposed, though inefficiently and feebly, to the faction; but, that that faction was indebted for its momentary success to one Maurus of Nepi, whom, like his predecessors in wickedness, (and very likely his relatives), in the time of Pope Stephen II, they had contrived to introduce, with an armed band of marauders, into the city. What further sustains this, and must, we think, be admitted as fatal to the view of the case put forward in the Epistle of Alcuin is, that the Pontiff, when he had been rescued from Sant' Erasmo, was hailed

* June, A.D. 1849.

with the greatest enthusiasm, on his way to the Vatican—the multitude entoning the psalm "Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, qui facit mirabilia magna solus, et non deseruit sperantes in se,"*—and that nothing could surpass the pomp and effusion of joy with which, when returning from beyond the Alps, he was received by the Romans.

"Dismissed with the greatest honours by Charlemagne," says the biographer, "the Pontiff was received in each city along his route, as if the Prince of the Apostles himself were in progress to Rome. There, the rejoicing of the Romans knew no bounds, at, once more, beholding and hailing their pastor, on his return." This was on the vigil of Saint Andrew, as we have already stated; and, in the description of the welcome, we read that not only the Cardinals with the titular and regionary clergy, the Optimates, the Senate, the entire militia, and the Roman populace to a man, went forth, but that there were, moreover, included in the procession, the nuns of the various orders, the deaconesses, with the noble matrons, and the other mothers and daughters of the Romans—all being arranged together, and with the same view to propriety, as in processions of the Litanies, and in the churches. Here we have, at once, a striking proof of the universality of the jubilee, and of the pacific

* "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who alone doth mighty wonders, and deserted not those who were hoping in Him."—*Ap. Anast. in Vit. S. Leon. III. p.* 124.

aspect of the pageant, as also a characteristic by which the public reception of the Sovereign Pontiff was distinguished from that of a king, or an emperor. Amongst the schools and colleges of foreigners—cunctæ scholæ peregrinorum—who were present, we find enumerated, the Franks, at that time covering the countries from the heart of Germany to the Ebro in Spain—the Frisons, Saxons, Lombards. All were marshalled according to sex, order, nation, at the Milvian bridge, with standards, on which were various emblems, and banners streaming in the lambent air; and, thus, receiving their most beloved and holy Pontiff and king, they conducted him, like another Melchisedeck, to the church of the blessed Peter the Apostle.* There he celebrated the solemnities of the mass, and the entire congregation with lively faith were made partakers, by a devout communion, in the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.† The next, which was Saint Andrew's day, the Pope made his solemn entry into Rome; and, amidst the grandest manifestations of rejoicings—his way being one succession of triumphal arches, and the houses all decorated with festoons of flowers and tapestries of every brilliant tint—the Apostolic Leo returned once more to the Lateran.

The year had not yet expired, when the most Christian king, intent on preventing a recurrence

* In *Ecclesiam.* Anast. p. 125.

† "Et omnes communiter corpus et Sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter participati sunt."—*Ib.*

of such atrocities as had recently filled the Christian nations with horror, arrived in Rome; and it was on the glorious festival of our Lord's Nativity, that Pope Leo, determined to extract from that, which, but for his wisdom and energy, might have proved fatal to the Papal sovereignty, the most effectual means for rendering it the very key-stone of all governmental authority and social order in Christendom, had recourse to that stroke of policy, to which we have so often alluded, as having acted like magic on the aspect of the Barbaric-Romanze world, and as having permanently shaped the after destinies of the Western Nations."

The most Christian king had been for some time in Rome: at the instance of Leo, he had spared the lives of the traitors, who, after the most solemn and patient investigation, first before a commission appointed by him for that purpose, and secondly, in his own presence, (as patrician or champion and defender of the see of Saint Peter,) had been convicted, and, according to the Roman law, condemned to death. In addition to the usual concourse drawn together by the great festival of the Nativity of our Lord, the Apostolic city had become crowded to an unprecedented degree by the multitudes, who either accompanied the march of his armies, or had been attracted thither by the fame of the Frank king's arrival. He was met there by ambassadors from the most renowned and distant Potentates—from the Greek empress Irene, and from the Caliph of the

East. We learn from Paulus Emilus,* that Charlemagne was accompanied on this occasion, not only by the nobility of the Franks, but also of the other nations united under his sway, those of the Alemanni, the Avars, or Huns, the Boarians or Bavarians, Saxons, Frisians, Bohemians, Goths of Spain.

What further contributed to augment the enormous concourse, and the pomp by which the great event was to be surrounded, was the arrival of Pepin, the eldest of the royal princes. Charlemagne had sent him by the Adriatic coast against Grimoald, whose duchy of Beneventium, at that period, embraced very nearly the whole of the modern kingdom of Naples; and the tents of the squadrons, the youthful prince had brought with him on his return, were now added to the other divisions of the Franks, already encamped round the walls, or quartered in the burgh, and the other suburbs beyond the Tiber. As for the ceremony of the coronation itself, it is thus described by Sigonius.

When the festival of the Nativity was arrived, King Carolus repaired at the dawn to Saint Peter's, and, approaching the confession of the Apostle, there knelt in prayer. It is an error on the part of Gibbon, to write that it was "*after* the celebration of the holy mysteries" the crowning took place; it was previous to the mass. No one acquainted with the invariable rule which provides in the ritual for all such ceremonies, previously to

* De Reb. Franc.

the solemn oblation, could have fallen into the mistake; besides, had the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire looked steadily at Anastasius, he must have perceived the fact to be the reverse of what he has stated—

King Carolus, then, was on his knees in prayer, before the shrine of Saint Peter. Prince Pepin knelt beside him. Both were robed, not in the Frankish, but in the costume of Rome. The faithful were arrayed in order, and on that Christmas-day, it may be fairly said, of all Christendom, there was no tribe, or nation but had a representative present at, and assisting in, the divine offices, which the choirs, in their place, and the clergy, in the presbyterion, were chanting. There was a pause of the heavenly melody of psalms and hymns, as the Pontiff rose from his throne at the head of the absis; and, as he moved amidst the breathless stillness to the altar, and thence lifted, as Anastasius says, "with his own hands, a most precious diadem," all eyes were turned on the greatest of Christian kings and conquerors, still bowed in his orisons before the shrine. The successor of Saint Peter, places the refulgent crown of Empire on the head of Charlemagne with words of acclamation, which being caught up, in the first place, by the clergy and the choirs, and, speedily, by the multitude of the faithful of all orders, and of every nation, the lackered roofs of the basilica are made, again and again, to re-echo with the words;—

"LONG LIFE AND VICTORY TO CAROLUS, THE MOST PIOUS AUGUSTUS, CROWNED BY GOD THE GREAT AND PACIFIC EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS."

These acclamations were blended with the litanies, as, in the ordination of a priest, or the consecration of a Pontiff, others, of an appropriate import, are made. Thus were they thrice repeated by the Pontiff, his hands extended, as in the act of blessing and consecrating, above the still kneeling Emperor of the Romans. "Forthwith," continues Anastasius, "the most holy Leo, with consecrated oil, anointed Charlemagne, as Emperor, and Prince Pepin, as King, on the birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ; and mass having been celebrated, both the newly crowned made offerings of the most costly and wonderful gifts—consisting, for the most part, of the spoils of Pagan Rome, thus brought back by the strong hand of the champion of Saint Peter, from where they had been hoarded up and dispersed among the barbarians."*

* "Pontifex manibus suis propriis pretiosissima corona coronavit eum. Tunc universi fideles Romani videntes tantam defensionem et dilectionem, quam erga sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam et ejus vicarium habuit, unanimiter altisona voce, Dei nutu, atque Beati Petri Clavigeri regni cœlorum, exclamaverunt—Carolo, piissimo Augusto a Deo coronato, magno, pacifico Imperatori, vita, et Victoria! Ante Sanctam confessionem B. Petri Ap. plures Sanctos invocantes, ter dictum est, et ab omnibus constitutus est Imperator Romanorum. Illico—Pontifex unxit oleo Sancto Carolum et excell^m^. filium ejus regem, et missâ peractâ, post celebrationem missarum obtulit, &c."—*An. Bib.*

CHAPTER II.

THE power of Charlemagne was, at this moment, something quite portentous. The fruits of an entire century of uninterrupted victories over all, of whatever race, who had encountered their prowess, and of all the conquests achieved by Pepin of Heristal, by Charles Martel, by Pepin le Bref,—the mighty progenitors of this their more mighty and victorious descendant and heir, were now held firmly in his gigantic grasp; while all round the confines of his immense dominion, it may be said in the language of Inspired Writ, that the "earth was silent." Such was the terror he had struck into the hearts of his enemies,—whether of the Saracens, hurled back by him beyond the course of the Ebro, or of the savage myriads whom he had pursued and crushed in their own solitudes, beyond the line from the mouth of the Elbe, down the course of the Theiss and the Danube, to where the latter lost itself towards the south and east, beyond the knowledge of the geographers of the time.

In the great Barbaric-Romanze world of the West, he has no rival. He is the autocrat, not of the Franks alone, but of the Burgundians, Alamanni, Huns, Lombards, and of the two mighty families of

nations, known as the Teutonic and the Slave. The kings of Erin were at his command, calling themselves his subjects.* To the Moors of Spain his name is terrible. The proud Mahomedan Emir of Saragozza is his obsequious vassal. All who are connected, whether as victors or as vanquished, with the ancient Roman world of the West are at his feet. His alliance is courted by the Greek Empress Irene, wielding as she then did the sceptre of Theodosius; and the great Caliph of the East sends his envoys to salute with presents the most costly, this hero-king whose renown has filled the world, and to lay at his feet the keys of Jerusalem.†

But, with those who take the pains to reflect on the circumstances of his times, the wonder will be less, that Chalemagne—at the head of such armies as had been formed under his sire, king Pepin, and with the prestige which was his, as the heir of three generations of conquerors,—should have borne down by the weight of his arms whatever either opposed him, at home, or assumed a menacing attitude, beyond his frontiers, than that, in an epoch during which

* "Extant epistolæ ab iis ad eum missæ, quibus hujusmodi affectus eorum erga illum indicatur."—*Eginhard. de Vita Carol. Magn.*

† Vid. Eginhard. in vit. Caroli Magn.: also the Saxon poet, ap. Du Chesne, T. 2. Rer. Franc. Script. where, after enumerating the presents of the Caliph, he adds:

Adscribique locum Sanctum Hierusolimorum,
Concessit propriæ Caroli semper ditioni.

anarchy had been, for close on three hundred years, the normal state of the entire West, an illiterate semi-barbarian as he was, with no political education whatever in the modern sense, he should not only have conceived the notion, but have fully established the foundations, of a social order of things which is admitted to be the basis of the whole civilized system of the present day; although, in doing so, he could have had before him no model of a kingdom depending on the principles of political science. Within the range of Charlemagne's knowledge, nothing of the sort existed.

What are Alexander or Cæsar contrasted with this potentate, who is now crowned and kneeling before the shrine of St. Peter? Both the former had the advantages of an education the most perfect, to make them consummate masters in all that belonged to the art of war and the science of government. Need we pause to state, much less to demonstrate, that no advantage of this kind was possessed by Charlemagne? Attila or Tamerlain overran more countries than either the Roman or the Greek. In times of the greatest political and social enlightenment, when they lost the reins of universal dominion, an empty renown alone remained: they had established nothing but the causes of most desolating wars: but Charlemagne laid the foundations, not of an EMPIRE, BUT OF CHRISTIAN, THAT IS TO SAY, OF CIVILIZED SOCIETY—of a universe, in a word, that was to grow and unfold its powers

through centuries to the highest pitch of progressive improvement. All this he did with nothing but ignorance around him; with nothing but a passion for riot and lawless violence, that was not a second, but the only, nature of the wild, nomadic, medley of barbarians, from whom, on the one hand, and from an effete, degenerate population of slaves, on the other, he had to found and create this embryo world—which we discover to be at the root of the Christendom of the middle ages, and of the civilization of Europe in modern times.

Over the whole extent of the territory, known as such at the present day, there was nothing in the shape of a fixed government, or of regular subordination to what is now understood by law, when Charlemagne entered on the scene. For property, liberty, or life, there was no protection, (EXCEPT FROM THE CHURCH), but in the right arm of the possessor. The nomadic tendencies of the Barbarian destroyers of the Roman world still continued; and even when a disposition to settle down, and attach themselves permanently to the soil they had conquered, from time to time began to prevail, the hordes or nations so inclined were sure to be speedily disturbed, either by being drawn into the vortex of never-ending conflict of people against people, and chief against chief, or by the in-rush of some fresh race of invaders. Thus were the populations continually displaced, dispersed suddenly, and as suddenly huddled together in horrible anarchy, amidst which the few remaining

relics of the Romanze race, their refinements, their arts, and in many countries their very reminiscences are swallowed up and disappear altogether.* Every thing was overwhelmed and confounded in one common chaos of disorder, in which the debris of ancient civilization, manners, opinions, habits, laws, languages, were crushed together, tainted, and overpowered by the brutality, the savage ignorance, the fanaticism for spoil and carnage,—in a word, by Barbarism, that medley of whatever is most sanguinary, sensual, and destructive of peace, order, and progress.

As a conqueror, the grand achievement of Charlemagne was to put a stop to this universal disorder, by forcing the recognition, fully and effectually, of his own power upon all within the vast area of country we have designated, and through the awe inspired by the terror of his arms in all beyond the frontiers. Reiterated and sanguinary defeats had proved to them how vain it was to resist his power. It took him three-and-fifty campaigns—not to speak of minor expeditions—to put the last hand to this part of his task.†

Alexander wept for another world *to conquer*,

* See Jean de Muller's History of Switzerland, l. 1. c. 4. p. 190, et seq.—Helvetia was reduced to a desert. See in Thierry's Letters various other instances.

† Seven of these were against the Arabs of Spain, eighteen against the Saxons, one against the Thuringians, one against the Bavarians, four against the Avars or Huns, three against the Danes, five against the Lombards, five against the Saracens in Italy, four against the Slaves beyond the Elbe.

and the unreasoning ferocity, and moth-like love of glare that are in our perverted nature, have won for his wicked insanity the most unbounded applause. The wars of Charlemagne were wars of necessity; his conquests were made in self-defence: if he carried war beyond his frontier it was to prevent invasion.

"Seek," says M. Guizot, "a dominant fact which shall be common to nearly all these wars; reduce them all to their most simple expression, you will be struck with the conviction that they belong in every instance to a vast and mighty struggle on the part of the inhabitants of the ancient empire, victors and vanquished, Romans and Germans, to maintain their ground against the new hosts of invaders. The wars of Charlemagne are therefore in their essence defensive wars, arising out of a triple interest —territory, race, religion."* And after giving instances in proof of what he asserts, M. Guizot concludes as follows: "But let these combinations vary as they may, in every instance it is German and Roman Christians who defend their nationality, their territory and their religion against populations different from themselves in religion and in race, who are in quest of a soil to conquer. Their wars are all of this character, they originate in this triple necessity."†

Charlemagne, instead of sitting down to weep for another world to conquer, girded up his loins like a

* Hist. de la Civilisation en France, t. 2. p. 123. Paris, 1843.

† Ubi supra.

true hero, to procure the blessings of religion, social order and intellectual culture, with the arts and the progress which form the retinue of these, for the world which he had rescued from chaos. To use the imagery of the Benedictines of St. Maur, (at home as they were in treating of the world of Charlemagne, who found in their order an ally that enabled him to carry out his beneficent designs), his rising was like that of the sun, when it is obscured by mists, and a sky covered with clouds. "For before the times of our Lord, King Carolus," says one of the old biographers, "there was no study of the liberal arts." He began his task like Orpheus. He brought with him professors of music from the Schola Cantorum at Rome. It was only for the intuitive faculty of a mind like that of Charlemagne, to appreciate such an agency in the work which he had in hand. Wherever he found a monk or a churchman deeply versed in books, he was more anxious to secure his co-operation, than to conquer a realm. Thus it was that, from Rome, and from all regions of the West the most remote, but chiefly from Britain and Hibernia, he drew around him whatever was most eminent in knowledge and mental capacity. Charlemagne went to school himself—greater by far in this than at the head of his armies—and his formidable Paladins he obliged to follow his example. He made it as much a part of the routine of his government to inspect the schools, even of the serf and vassal classes, as to review his forces, or preside in

the Diets. All the useful arts he encouraged, that of rustic enonomy by his personal practice: to the fine arts he gave no slight impulse by the erection of his gorgeous palace at Aix-la-Chapelle; of churches and monasteries beyond number—and by, it is said, the erection of some cities, one of which was Florence. Engineering was improved by the great canals, which were intended to connect the Danube and the Rhine, and by the fortresses and enormous defences that he caused to be constructed, especially along the north-eastern boundary of his dominions. He established flotillas to guard the estuaries of the great rivers, and the shores of the northern seas and the ocean, against the descents of the sea-rovers. His sway was implicitly recognised in his own vast dominions, from the Elbe, to the ocean and the Ebro, and from Erin to Istria, Pannonia, and Dacia: by the most distant and potent sovereigns, by the Caliphs of the East and the Byzantine Cæsars he was feared and admired. His reign, which at its rising was overclouded by ignorance and anarchy, was now in its meridian splendour, diffusing light, and forcing the mists of intellectual darkness to retreat: but, with all that he is, with all that he has done, or that he hopes to do, he is there on his knees before the shrine of St. Peter, to consecrate his sceptre and his sword to that divine Redeemer who entrusted to the hands of an humble fisherman the sceptre of His kingdom:—

"In the name of Christ, I, Carolus, Em-

PEROR, DO VOW AND PROMISE BEFORE GOD AND THE BLESSED PETER THE APOSTLE THAT, IN ALL THINGS APPERTAINING TO THE POSSESSIONS, RIGHTS, AND PRIVILEGES OF THE HOLY ROMAN CHURCH, I WILL, WITH THE DIVINE AID, AND TO THE UTMOST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND POWER, BE ITS PROTECTOR AND DEFENDER."*—Such was the solemn form in which Charlemagne devoted himself to vindicate and advance the interests of Christ's kingdom.

The enthusiasm which had led Charles Martel his grandsire to throw the shield of his protection over Gregory III. against the assaults of the Lombard, which had brought Pepin his sire on two occasions across the Alps: the reciprocity of benefits and obligations by which the dynasty of his family and the Pontiffs had been associated, all pointed to Charlemagne as the champion of the Church, we may say, by birth-right. His wars partook of the nature of crusades. They were invariably undertaken with a view to the good, or for the defence, of Christendom. And as he fought as a crusader, so did he govern his conquests in the same spirit.—"Karolus, by the grace of God, King of the kingdom

* "In nomine Christi spondeo atque polliceor ego Carolus Imperator coram Deo et beato Petro Apostolo, me protectorem et defensorem fore hujus S. Romanæ ecclesiæ in omnibus utilitatibus, quatenus divino fultus fuero adjutorio, prout sciero, poteroque."—*Apud Baron. ad an.* 800, No. 7.

This formula is styled "Antiquissimum" by Sigonius. *De Regn. Ital. an.* 800.

of the Franks, rector, and devout defender of Holy Church, and, in all things the helper, and CHAMPION OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE."—Such is the heading of the first capitulary in the body of laws which he established. The whole collection bears a much closer resemblance in spirit and wording to the decrees of the church in her Synods and Councils, than to anything in the legislation of modern times.

There was this characteristic difference between the support rendered to Christianity by Constantine the Great and Charlemagne. The former having mastered the Pagan empire, not only bound up the monster, so as to disable it from any longer fastening its claws or its fangs in the object of its blood-thirsty fury, he moreover dragged it in chains to the feet of its victim. But the ferocity and malevolence of the captive were nothing lessened, but the reverse, because its fetters galled it; and because it saw the Church it so hated—now secure against its rage—growing hourly into power and renown, through that very agency by which its own life was crushed within it, and its huge carcass hewed down and devoured, until nothing but the skeleton was left bleaching on the face of the earth, but too long and too cruelly scourged by its ravages, and astonished at the display of its force. The old Roman empire never coalesced with the Church. In its essence,

* "Karolus gratia Dei rex, regniq. Francor. rector et devotus sæc. ecclæ. defensor, atq. *adjutor in omnibus* APOSTOLICÆ SEDIS." —(Cap. Baluz. t. i. p. 189.)

and in its action also, so far as it retained any vitality, it remained Pagan and anti-Christian to the last; and so it ever has been with those who have striven, either at former epochs, or in our own day, to drag back society to the ancient Roman traditions. But the empire which Charlemagne consecrates to the service and honour of Christianity, as represented in the governing authority conferred on St. Peter, is not a power which the Christian principle has conquered, but which it has created. It is, as we have seen, by force of Christian enthusiasm that Charlemagne acquired this empire; by the polity of the Church, it is—*he absolutely knew no other*—that he seeks to humanize his subjects and promote their prosperity: to be "ADJUTANT TO THE SUCCESSOR OF SAINT PETER—ADJUTOR IN OMMIBUS APOSTOLICÆ SEDIS," he glories in as his highest title. It is inscribed at the head of his laws; it is the word at which his armies march to victory. He illustrates it in his own conduct by the most solemn avowals, and by deeds. It is found emphatically symbolized in the very etiquette by which it was customary from his day for kings and emperors, no matter to what Christian dynasty they belonged, to dismount in the presence of the successors, the vicars, of the Prince of the Apostles, and pay them homage by a most servile office. When he is making his last will and testament, the function of his power which he bequeaths and recommends to his sons—the heirs of his realm—as paramount to every other, "SUPER

OMNIA," is this very function of champion of the See and privileges—temporal as well as spiritual—of St. Peter, or in other words of the Papacy, to which he now, on bended knees, devotes and binds himself by the form of oath just now quoted.

That was a great stride in the fulfilment of the words of Christ, "When I am lifted up, I will draw all things to myself,"—by which the power of the cross,—commencing, as St. Paul describes it to the handful of slaves, mechanics, and small traders, who were devoted to it in Corinth—became so great in the Roman world, that Gibbon—rendering homage unintentionally to the object of his hostility—endeavours to shew that political expediency alone should have led Constantine to change sides as he did. It was another great stride in the same direction when the successors of Nero and Diocletian became the worshippers of the God of the martyrs; but, in the move which we are at present considering, the stride was still greater, than in either of the foregoing instances. In the world of Constantine, the Emperor and the Pope belonged to two different, it may, it must, be said, to two antagonist systems. All is reduced to one system now. So far as the West is concerned, the WORLD as well as the CHURCH is CHRISTIAN: CHRISTENDOM is its name, and it embraces both. Both have their separate spheres, their peculiar allotted functions, just as we have soul and body in the person of man. But the honour of precedency, the directive faculty, is assigned in this

harmonizing of the two powers,—it would be absurd to question it—to the Popes.

The establishment of the Christian Roman Empire was the work of the Pope. Charlemagne did not snatch the diadem from the altar, like his copyist in our age, who was spoiled because he—unlike the grand original—had a philosophy and a state wisdom not in harmony with the Christian religion. The idea of placing on the brow of Charlemagne the crown of Augustus originated with St. Leo III; and the execution was not less peculiarly his own than was the conception of the design. One who was honoured with the bosom intimacy of Charlemagne, and who has written his life, Count Eginhard, assures us that the coronation came on Charlemagne by surprise. After it was over, he was heard to declare that, had he known of the Pope's intention, great as was the festival, he would not have gone that day to St. Peter's.* Pope Leo's solicitude for the liberty of the Apostolic See suggested the thought: his hands lifted the crown of empire from the altar, and placed it on the head of Charlemagne as he knelt. It was the Pontiff who imagined and first entoned the acclamation, "Long life and victory to Carolus, the most pious Augustus,

* "Quo tempore imperatoris et Augusti nomen accepit; quod primo tantum aversatus est, ut affirmant se eo die, quamvis præcipua solemnitas esset, ecclesiam non intratuum fuisse, si pontificis consilium præscire potuisset."—*Eginhard. de vit. et gest. Carl. Magn*

crowned of God, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans!" The anointing, with words of blessing, which ratified this consecration of Europe, in its head, to the honour and service of the cross, was conferred by no other hands but his;* and the oath which follows, and the offering of gifts, are expressions from which no might—not even that of a Barbarossa or á Frederick II, shall ever force any other sense than that of subordination and homage. It is immaterial by what formulas that subordination is distinguished from vassalage in the usual sense of the word; and it is on all hands admitted that the two things were widely different. But throughout the mediæval epoch, the empire was popularly regarded as a *benefice* in the

* "Pasteur du monde, chef de l'Eglise universelle, pontife de Rome," says Rohrbacher, "le pape Saint Léon III, crée et consacre, dans le père de l'Europe, dans Charlemagne, le Saint empire Romain, l'Empire de la force, au service de la verité et de la justice. Dans cet empire Charlemagne n'aura point de successeur total; mais le Saint empire Romain, consacré en sa personne, subsistera toujours malgré les apparences contraires; car cet empire n'est autre que l'Europe chrétienne et catholique, qui, après mille ans sent toujours le noble besoin d'employer sa puissance, ses lumières, son sang à la gloire de Dieu, et au salut du monde. Elle sent toujours, au fond de ses entrailles la consecration apostolique qu'elle a reçue dans la personne de Charlemagne son premier réprésentant. Le monde entier lui en fait une gloire. A l'extrémité de l'Asie, au fond de la Tarterie et de la Chine, la religion du Christ, la religion Catholique, la religion faite pour l'univers, c'est la religion de l'Europe, c'est la religion des Francs, compatriotes de Charlemagne."—T. xi. l. 53. p. 238.

gift of the Popes. It was popularly regarded as a fief of the Apostolic See; and, although this was never insisted on in the once momentous, but long since obsolete, dispute between the Pontiffs and the German Kaisars; still, when Barbarossa, the haughtiest of them all, expressed his anger at seeing a picture on the Lateran, in which the emperor was represented as the Pope's "homo," he received no apology or retractation on the subject from Pope Hadrian IV, by whose side he rode, being then entering for the first time into Rome. Certain it is, that the Popes transferred from dynasty to dynasty, and from one prince to another, the imperial dignity, which, as we have seen, it was theirs alone to create. Ludovic II, the great grandson of Charlemagne, speaks of it in his famous letter to the Byzantine Emperor as a dignity for which the Carlovingians were beholden to the Popes. The act of John VIII, by which he conferred the empire on Charles the Bald, while there were princes of an elder branch still living, proves that even amongst the Carlovingians, this dignity did not descend by succession. Again, we shall see it transferred from the Carlovingians before that line becomes extinct: we shall see the princes who violate the pledges on which they received it, deprived of it, to see it conferred on a rival. Even when, by the act of a pope, the dignity, after lying in abeyance for half a century, is revived in favour of the Saxon dynasty of the Othos; and that election by certain of the German kings

and princes—most probably by indult of the Popes as we shall see hereafter—was made a *sine qua non* for obtaining the empire, that election (as even Matthew Paris confesses) was only an *arrah*—a pledge or earnest to the Emperor elect, and left the Pontiff still master, either to confer the crown or to refuse it, as he thought right. So that, viewing it merely as an historical question—*and it is solely and exclusively in that light it is here considered*—how any one with candour can deny, that from the age of Charlemagne to the age of Charles V, (the last who received the imperial crown from the Pope), the Popes were at the head, as well of the political as of the ecclesiastical system of Europe, it is difficult in the extreme to conceive.

With Leo III, it was undoubtedly the primary object, to promote the interests of religion, in thus securing the perfect liberty of the power to whom its administration had been confided.* But, it is

* As to the aim of the Pope—we are told by Sigonius what it was—ut fidum Christianis atque ipsi Romanæ Ecclesiæ tutorem ac patronum pararet. He tells us that the giving an Emperor to the West had been a matter agitated from the time the Isaurian fell into heresy; Gregory II, as we have seen, had some difficulty in dissuading the Italians from electing an Emperor—and in fact a pretender to the purple made his appearance in Tuscany. De Reg. Hal. An. 800. p. 178.

On the same subject, Roherbacher (t. xi. L. 53. p. 236-238.) thus states his opinion :—*Ceux-là, donc, conclut le critique français se trompeut très-fort, que prétendent que le pape Léon ne*

the characteristic of whatever the Almighty and all-wise Architect has a hand in, as well in the moral as in the material universe, that it shall not jar or clash with any other part of the system, but so harmonize with it as to add to it new beauty, power, and perfection; and, hence, though we do not know that such a result was expected (very likely it was), the act by which Pope Leo III. provided for the spiritual welfare of the Christian nations, was seen to act like a stroke of enchantment in shaping their political destinies.

We have said that the whole Barbaric-Romanze world was held firmly by Charlemagne in his grasp. This point is not disputed. Still less is it disputed that the adhesion of the system which he had founded had no guarantee but that gigantic grasp for its duration. The moment before the Pope set the diadem upon his head, the stability of the system founded by Charlemagne depended exclusively and totally upon the genius, the life of one man; and that man, after a life of fifty-three campaigns, was now sinking rapidly into old age. But, no sooner was that acclamation heard by the myriads in St. Peter's: no sooner was it reechoed by the foremost men of the age, whether of the Romanze or Barba-

conféra qu'un simple titre à Charlemagne, quand il le coronna empereur. Il lui conféra en même temps une dignité tres-étendue et qui repondait à ce titre sublime, savoir : la dignité de tuteur et de défenseur de la republique chrétienne et de toute l'Eglise, en particuliér de l'Eglise Romaine.

rian races, than the whole position of affairs in the West was changed—may we not add, that position was in the happiest sense, reversed. The social world, which, but a moment before, hung suspended over the abyss of irretrievable anarchy by the thread of an old man's life, was suddenly shifted on a new and imperishable basis—on the immortal renown of Charlemagne.* His genius, his fame, the conquests of his sword, and of his wisdom: whatever he had associated with his name—the grandest in the annals of the world before or since—all this is now rescued from the lot that awaited it. It becomes embodied in an institution, by which the traditions most cherished, and at the same time most indispensable to the regeneration and progress of the two races—the Romanze and the Barbarian—are now combined in KARL-AUGUSTUS, at once the King of the Franks, and the Great and Pacific Emperor of the Romans.

It has been already observed, that for the stability of the realm established by Charlemagne, there was no guarantee but the magic influence of his own genius, and the terror of his name. He was obeyed, but it was as Æolus was obeyed by the winds. Substitute for the names of the winds the names of the various Barbarian nations—as inconstant in their impulses as the winds themselves, and prone at any moment to become the sport of the most tempestuous and destructive passions; and, so far as the restiveness of

* The union and stability of his empire depended on the life of a single man. *Gibbon*, vol. vi. p. 224. London, 1825.

the nations under the sceptre of Charlemagne, and the terrors of the chaos which must inevitably have ensued, had they been let loose by him, as Æolus let loose the storms; and there is nothing in the magnificent description of the scene in the cavern of the storm-god that does not apply with a prosaic exactness to the realm of Charlemagne, before this coronation takes place.*

"The delights of a complete exemption from every species of restraint or subordination to law," says M. Guizot, in speaking of the barbarian character, "to disport them as they listed, with their liberty and their force, in the midst of the chances of the world and of life; the joys of activity without labour; a passion for a destiny full of hazard, of versatility, of sudden surprises, of peril,—such were the predominant sentiments, the moral want, which kept the men of those times in everlasting restlessness; in a condition, in short, in which nothing could be established, nothing that had been fixed could long endure, and in which property, distinction of classes, of privileges, of estates and kingdoms; of

* " ——— Hic vasto rex Æolus antro
Luctantes ventos, tempestatesque sonoras—
Imperio premit, ac vinclis et carcere frænat,
Illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis
Circum claustra fremunt. Celsâ sedet Æolus arce,
Sceptra tenens; mollitque animos et temperat iras.
Ni faciat, maria ac terras cœlumque profundum
Quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras."
Æneidos, lib. 1. l. 52, &c.

every thing, in fine, with the exception of the Church alone, was no sooner founded than subverted, and driven to and fro in the universal pell-mell. Nowhere could society find rest or organization. Barbarism was everywhere prolonged by the same causes in which it had its origin."* The proofs of occasional outbreaks of the disorder here described, which have been collected by Schmidt, and the scenes which took place when the descendants of Charlemagne got at feud amongst themselves, but too clearly shew that though repressed in a great degree under the weight of Charlemagne's domination, the elements of anarchy were struggling like the winds to burst their fetters and escape.

"Despite of the unity, despite of the activity of Charlemagne's ideas, and of his power," says the same writer, "the disorder continued to hem him in on all sides, immense and invincible. For a moment he repressed it on one point: but the root of the disorder was everywhere, except in that spot alone where it was under the spell of his terrible will: it was there too, as appeared by its outbreaks, so soon as that spell was removed with his presence. We must not deceive ourselves with words; open the *Almanach royal* for the current year: you behold in it a true picture of the system by which the kingdom of the French is governed: all the jurisdictions, all the functionaries, from the bottom to the top of the scale, exist in reality, as they are there repre-

* Guizot, Hist. de la Civilizat. &c. pp. 51 and 74.

sented. There is nothing of illusion, but everything is as it is stated. To construct for the realm of Charlemagne an *almanach*, a map of administration of a similar sort, and to set dukes, counts, vicars, centenaries, and *scabini*, each over his province, and to apportion out the whole territory, as if really organized under this hierarchy of officers, would be easy; MAIS CE NE SERAIT QU'UN VASTE MENSONGE. Nothing more completely the reverse of what really did exist could be imagined than this. As a general rule, these functionaries were impotent, or they were themselves the authors of the confusion which they were officially bound to repress. The efforts of Charlemagne to hold them to the discharge of their duty were incessant, but his efforts also continually miscarried.*

And, yet, with all their aversion to restraint or repose, there was, nevertheless, in the breasts of the Barbarians, an instinctive yearning after both;† or, at least, there was a longing after the advantages which can have no security or existence, but in a state of things in which order and subordination to law are not set at defiance. The fragments of those mighty structures, aqueducts, towns, bridges, highways, the ruins of marble cities, villas, and temples, amongst which they pastured their flocks and herds,

* There were at that time no political ideas proportionate to the wants of a system so vast. See Guizot for this developed. Ubi supra, p. 127.

† Michelet ub. supr. t. 1. p. 309, 310.

disposed their ambuscades in war, or pursued the delights of the chase, or levied contributions on wayfarers and pilgrims,—all these memorials of a by-gone order of things, were haunted, even for them, with certain vague imaginings, (perhaps of admiration or wonder,) with regard to that mysterious and magnificent system of social existence to which these things had belonged. The same might be said of the relics of Roman society,—of its shattered institutions surviving, especially within the ruined cities and municipal towns. The very name of the empire, the recollections of this grand and glorious society had not as yet ceased to agitate the memories of the living. With the senators of ancient cities, with the clergy, with all, in short, who had their origin in the Roman world, these retrospects were accompanied by regrets as intense as the cruelties and insults were incessant and violent, which they were made to suffer, at the hands of their brutalized and ferocious conquerors. Even the conquerors were themselves, attached to similar reminiscences by their most darling passions, and by that thirst for warlike renown which they cherished above everything else, except their newly adopted religion. The image of its greatness was often and vividly revived before their excited imaginations, while they listened to their bards, who were wont to celebrate, amidst the carousal, the achievements and the prowess of their sires, who had figured in its wars, in its triumphs, but, above all, in its overthrow and its spoliation. The consequence was inevitable. By

thus frequently contemplating the image of this august order of things, their understandings, inconstant and rude as they were, could not fail to be struck with the glaring defects and inferiority of their own social condition: if indeed an existence like theirs deserve the name of society. They became sensible, that, belonging to the empire, among the ruins of which they found themselves, there was a something of which they had need, but which they had not the power, and knew not how, to imitate, or to reproduce. Hence the effect of that stroke of policy which revived the Empire of the West. On the barbarian world its effect was magical. Those dull instincts and imaginings, so abortive hitherto, and so wide of any definite aim, became, on the instant, so many powerful and concordant rudiments and bonds of stability. The idea, the project, that had been harassing the breasts of all, like a nightmare vision, but which no one had power to realize, was recognised and hailed by all with acclamations the moment it was presented to them in the person of their mighty hero, "crowned of God," by the hands of the successor of St. Peter, "the great and pacific emperor of the Romans."

From that hour, the barbarian tribes acquired a new relation,—one that attached them all simultaneously to a grand idea of general and permanent association and unity.* Through its influence, the

* Guizot Hist. de la Civil. also Cours d'Hist. and Michelet Hist. de France, t. i. p. 286—300.

Romanze and the Barbarian nations became from thenceforth but one people. Though united as members of the Catholic Church, there had hitherto existed no political bond of union between them. They were judged by distinct codes of law: their most prominent reciprocal relation was one not to combine but to sunder, because it was the relation of victors and vanquished. But as citizens of the empire of which Charlemagne is the head, both races are united by all the bonds which have the strongest hold on the enthusiasm of the minds and hearts of a people. The Barbarian would delight to do battle and shed his blood for the empire, because its diadem sat on the brow of his own Barbarian hero and king; and as for the Romans,—so great was this triumph of seeing the King of the Barbarian world bowing down his head, on bended knees to receive, as his highest dignity and honour, the name of Augustus—the title of Emperor—not of the Barbarians, but of the Romans,—it requited them for all the shame, and humiliations, and sufferings of the past.

Never was witnessed such a reaction. The West was wheeled right about at the one stroke, and placed in presence of a new world of ideas. The long forgotten political system of the Roman empire once more arose into fresh remembrance and life. What were but vague imaginings before, and reminiscences, which had previously served only for boastings or regrets that were equally idle and

devoid of utility, were metamorphosed by this change into the most substantial advantages. Hitherto, the grand deficiency in the system of government established by Charlemagne was—it was bereft of any purely political element. Two systems only were known to him ; those of the camp and of the Church. With these he did wonders. But of the civil or political, as contradistinguished from the ecclesiastic or military order of things, the barbarian had little or no conception. In the profound state of ignorance then prevailing as to every thing not appertaining to ecclesiastical matters, the creation *anew* of the knowledge and the principles, without which the political or civil form of government is a chimera, was not to be thought of. By the revival of the Roman empire, this defect was remedied to the greatest extent, and in the only way, that was possible. In that age, they could not create, but they could copy. There was the model—grand and impressive—before them of a Government, different from that of the Church or of the camp, yet capable of harmonizing with both, the very Government, in its fullest perfection, which was required for the consolidation of social order in the West, by bringing it to revolve round a great central authority, in the civil, as well as in the ecclesiastical, sphere.

The utilitarian tendencies which characterise the pursuit of the sciences since the time of Lord Bacon, were exemplified in the instance of what we may

term the antiquarian research of that age, from the moment this change took place. Objects which up to that juncture had served only to excite a moment's wonder, or some aimless reverie or remark, became now the subject of serious examination and study, with a view to some useful purpose. The ruins of the ancient empire; its institutions, its laws, its customs —all represented in incomparably greater integrity and vividness then than now, or at any period since the close of the 9th century—were laid open like some beautifully illuminated book, to the enthusiasm of those who had become identified with all these long-forgotten or scorned glories, in the wonderful and providential manner we have been describing.

"The darling project, the day-dream of the reign of Charlemagne," says Guizot, "was the resurrection of the Roman empire. No matter under what point of view you consider his reign, you will be everywhere struck by this characteristic feature, the struggle against the state of barbarism, the esprit of civilization."*

The copy fell immeasurably short of the original, it is true—especially in the exact symmetry of the

* Hist. de la Civil. en Europe, p. 92. Paris, 1842. It is pitiful of M. Guizot, in order to detract from the glory of the Pontiff, to whom is due all the credit of this stroke of policy by which Europe was founded, to *insinuate* that it was the conception and the doing of Charlemagne. One of the best proofs that the insinuation has not a shadow of proof to sustain it—is, that M. Guizot has not attempted to produce any.

proportions, the unity of the design, the solidity, (which could have been the result only of the progressive growth of ages), and the well-defined adaptation of part to part, with the air of uniformity and completeness, characteristic of the ancient type—but, withal, the Barbaric-Romanze empire of Charlemagne had as much of Roman material in it, as strikingly-obvious a relation to the Empire of Augustus, as had his Barbaric-Romanze palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, to the structure which, when Virgil saw it, was seated in golden splendour on the Palatine; or, still more, to that which was the abode of the descendants of Theodosius, when they held their imperial state at Ravenna or Milan. Pillars, entablatures, statues, relievi, fountains, marble pavements, frescoes, bronzes of every design, and for every species of use or ornament, met the gaze of the astonished beholder in the imperial residence at Aix-la-Chapelle. It was entirely constructed of Roman materials, taken chiefly from Ravenna and the cities this side the Alps. They bore evidence that they had previously served the turn of the Herulian, the Goth, or the Burgundian. They were in great part but second-hand, from the palace which Theodoric had built at Ravenna. It was a spectacle that would have shocked Vitruvius; but he would have been the first to acknowledge that the materials were Roman; nor could he have refused to admit, notwithstanding the enormity of its faults and deficiencies—the reckless jumble, and grotesque juxta-positions

to be noted in every part of it—that still about the *ensemble* there was a grandeur and impressiveness of effect, on which even Roman pride might vouchsafe a glance without being humbled. "A glorious empire," says Florus of Lyons, who wrote about the year 850—"a glorious empire flourished under the lustre of a brilliant diadem: it knew but one prince and one people: all the cities had judges, and were secure under the shadow of the laws. The zeal of the priesthood was kept glowing by frequent councils: the sacred records were incessantly in the hands of a youth, enthusiastically devoted to study; there were, everywhere, schools in which those of a more tender age were disciplined and prepared for the higher study of letters. In those bright days, there was the resort of embassies from realms the most remote—from the Greeks, from the Barbarians (he alludes to the Saracens of West and East, to the Persians, Anglo-Saxons, and Scoti or Irish), and from the Senate of Latium. The race of Romulus, Rome herself, the mother of kingdoms, was submitted to this nation; there it was, that its chief—sustained by the help of Christ—had received the diadem by Apostolic gift. Oh, thrice happy had it but known its good fortune, this empire which had Rome for its citadel, and THE KEY-BEARER OF HEAVEN FOR ITS FOUNDER!"*

* "Un bel empire florissait sous un brillant diademe: il n'y avait qu'un prince et qu'un peuple: toutes les villes avaient des juges et des lois. Le zèle des prêtres était entretenu par des conciles

This single testimony must suffice. Our limits do not permit us to enter into the proofs, which we have at our hand in abundance, to sustain everything that has been advanced as to the astonishing and happy effects of this proceeding on the part of Pope Leo III. The grand and darling project of the Pontiffs, of not only making the world Christian, but also Roman, was crowned with complete success. The extract above quoted shews how profoundly the feelings of enthusiasm for the ancient glories of Rome—"the Senate of Latium"—"the race of Romulus"—"the mother of empires"—had penetrated into the Barbarian mind. For a full century, that mind had turned to this grand retrospect, the only means of progress for it—paradoxical as it may sound. This was no easy enter-

fréquents; les jeunes gens relisaient sans cesse les livres saints, et l'esprit des enfants se formait à l'étude des lettres. Les royaumes étrangeres, les Grecs, les Barbares, et le Sénat du Latium lui addressaient des ambassades, la race de Romulus, Rome elle même, la mère des royaumes, s'était soumise à cette nation; c'était la que son chef, soutenu de l'appui du Christ, avait reçu le diadème *par le don apostolique*. Heureux s'il eût connu son bonheur, l'empire qui avait Rome pour citadelle, et LE PORTE-CLEF DU CIEL POUR FONDATEUR!"—*Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, t. 7. p. 302. Quoted, and, he says, literally translated, by Guizot, *Cours d'histoire Moderne*, t. 2. p. 246. Paris, 1843.

This passage is given more fully by Rohrbacher. What Florus chiefly deplores is the loss of unity—the *break-up* of the empire. The See of St. Peter once more becomes the only centre for the Barbarico-Romanze nations.

prize: nothing but the perseverance and uniformity, with which the same project is wont to be taken up by Pontiff after Pontiff, could have brought it about. Even on the part of Charlemagne himself, they had prejudices against this *Romanizing* of the West (if we may be allowed the expression) to contend with. It was with difficulty he was prevailed on, on two occasions—the first in the time of Pope Hadrian, whom he loved so much: the second on the occasion of his being crowned by Leo III—to assume the costume of Rome. Nor was it a groundless prejudice; for Charlemagne knew how strong was the contempt of the Frank, and of his other Barbarian subjects for everything connected with Rome, except its religion, until the wonderful metamorphose we have been treating of took place.*

Fourteen years after this most memorable day,—in the same costume, and with the crown upon his head, as when he knelt before the altar in St. Peter's,—the body of Charlemagne descended into the tomb in that *chapel* (still existing) which he had

* "Twice, at the request of Hadrian and Leo," says Gibbon, "he appeared at Rome"—longâ tunicâ et chlamyde amictus, et calceamentis quoque Romano more formatis. Eginhard (c. 23. 109—113.) describes, like Suetonius, the simplicity of his dress, so popular in the nation, that when Charles the Bald returned to France in a foreign habit, the patriotic dogs barked at the apostate. —*Gaillard, Vie de Charlemagne*, t. 4. p 109. *Gibbon*, v. 6. c. 49. p. 221. n. 2.

built to our Blessed Lady in *Aix-la-Chapelle.* He who had so affectionately mourned over one pope—the great Hadrian I, whom this mightiest of heroes loved as a friend, and revered as a father, and in whose praises he even invoked the muse—was, in his turn, mourned over and commended to the divine mercy, by another great and sainted pontiff. The death of Charlemagne occurred A.D. 814. Two years later, Pope Leo III, who, like all his predecessors, with very few exceptions, has been inscribed in the canon of the saints, was summoned to receive that crown which an ever-merciful Saviour has in store for those who love him, and labour, and are ever prepared to suffer, for His glory.

He sat in the throne of Peter, 20 years, 5 months, and 17 days. Thus the reigns of this pontiff and his immediate predecessor, Hadrian I, extend over nigh half a century: during which the States and all Italy were in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace. Hadrian reigned 23 years, 10 months, 17 days; making the sum of the two pontificates, exactly 44 years, 4 months, and 4 days.

"He made in three ordinations in the month of March," says Anastasius, "presbyters 30, deacons 11, and bishops for various foreign parts, 126. He was buried in the basilica of the blessed Peter the Apostle, the day before the ides of June, in the 9th of the Indiction."*

* Petau—better known by his academic name of Petavius—in his work de Doctrina Tempor. discusses the meaning of this term

CHAPTER III.

STEPHEN V. Educated in the Lateran Patriarchate from a tender age, he grew up under the care of Pope Hadrian, a model of every virtue: he was advanced to holy orders by the successor of Hadrian, Leo III, to whom he succeeded in the chair of St. Peter, having been elected thereto with a unanimity which proved that, through his zeal, his great endowments, and more especially by his preaching, in which he stood pre-eminent, he had long commenced to reign in the veneration and most fervent affections of all.

Soon after he was crowned Pope, he made a journey across the mountains to visit the Frank emperor,

so usual in mediæval writings. Cap. 40, he refutes what Scaliger, the Chron. Alexandr., Maximus Monachus and others say on the subject. Cap. 41. After examining the theory of Onuphrius Panvinius, who was the first to investigate this matter, he succeeds, at length, in making very evident one thing regarding it, viz. that it is a point involved in the greatest obscurity. "Illud constat Indictiones nihil aliud esse quam annonas et tributa: quorum canon quotannis indicebatur, cui mediæ vetustatis autores ridiculum nescio quam fabulam adspergunt: dum 1° lustro indictum auri tributum 2° argentum, æs, denique, 3° exactum asserunt." The Indictions begin to be used in chronology from the year 312, under Constantine the Great.

Ludovicus Pius, by whom, and by the whole nation of the Franks, he was welcomed with an exultation so enthusiastic that tongue cannot describe it. It was on this occasion, most probably, that was drawn up by command of the emperor, that celebrated diploma beginning "Ego Ludovicus," in which the acts of Pepin and Charlemagne, with reference to the States of the Church, are most amply confirmed. It was not, however, with any aim to temporal advantages, but in the purest spirit of Christian forgiveness and charity, that the Pontiff made this long and toilsome journey, as the writer in Anastasius expressly tells us. "This holy Pontiff," he says, "taking example of our Redeemer, who deigned for our sakes to come down from heaven and rescue us from the captivity of the demon, not only amnestied all the exiles, who in punishment of their iniquities and treasons, perpetrated in the time of Pope Leo, against that venerated Pontiff, and against the holy Roman Church, were there detained in captivity, but, with the mercy and tenderness ever characteristic of the Church, returned surrounded by them to Rome."*

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* "Isdem vero sacer antistes exemplum sumens Redemptoris nostri, qui pro nobis de cœlis dignatus est descendere, et de captivitate diaboli nos eripere, omnes exules, qui illic captivitate tenebantur propter scelera, et iniquitates suas, quas in sanctam ecclesiam Romanam, et erga Dominum Leonem Papam gesserunt propietate ecclesiæ secum reduxit."—*Anas. Bib. in vit. Steph. V.*

The reign of Stephen V. lasted but seven months. Some of the MSS. say *annos septem, menses septem;* but it is evidently by the mistake of some transcriber the "seven years" have been added: there is no mention of them in other MSS.; and what is decisive on the matter is, that, after a two-days' vacancy of the see, he was succeeded in the year 817, by Pope Paschal I, a Roman: who, to the great glory and advancement of religion, filled the chair of St. Peter for *seven years,* five months, and sixteen days. It is for the ecclesiastical historian to fully dilate upon the incidents of his biography and his reign: our more humble and more limited task will only allow of our selecting such of these as have more immediate reference to the fortunes of the city and of the temporal realm. With this rule of investigation before us—a rule which is intended to apply equally to the reigns of the succeeding popes—we proceed to inspect the pages of Anastasius, noting down, as we get along, whatever would seem to appertain to our subject.

This Pontiff, amongst his other shining virtues, was adorned, we are told, with the grace of hospitality. The poor and the afflicted, who through love of St. Peter the Apostle were wont to come in pilgrimage to his shrine from the most distant countries, were the special objects of his charity. He provided for all their wants with the greatest solicitude. He loved to do good by stealth; and from the emotions with which his heart overflowed in dispensing as-

sistance and solace to the wayworn strangers, his countenance was seen to beam with happiness and joy. It tells greatly in favour of the diffusion of piety and of correct views in Rome, at that happy period, that all orders were of one mind, and enthusiastic for the election of one who was a model of every virtue. "With perfect concord and unanimity, the divine inspiration presiding in their consultations, by all the sacerdotal order, by the proceres, the clerus, the optimates, and the entire Roman people, this holy Pontiff, to the praise and glory of the Omnipotent God, was raised to the chair of the Apostle."

Amongst his other good works in the pontificate, we are told that he expended great treasures in purchasing liberty, not only for the captives of both sexes, who were brought in droves from foreign countries to the various slave-marts in Italy, but also for those who had been seized, mostly by the Moorish corsairs, and carried away into distant regions, to be there disposed of to the best bidder. All through Spain and other remote regions under the sway of the Saracens, his legates sought out the captives, and having paid ransom for them, brought them to their homes, as the good Shepherd bringeth back the lost sheep with joy to the fold.* To the

* "Omnem thesaurum in sacrario cœlesti recondidit, maxime propter captivos et exules, eos non tantum a transmarinis regionibus viros ac mulieres auro, seu argento redimens, verum etiam per longinqua viarum itinera passim perquirendo, tam in Hispaniæ partibus, quamque per singula loca inveniens, sicut bonus pastor ad propria perduxit."—*Anast. Bib. in vit. Pasch. I.*

altar of the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, he presented a vestment truly wonderful—beauteous to behold, and adorned in a consummate degree—it being wrought in gold and jewels, so as to represent as in a history, how St. Peter was by an angel released from his chains. In the same venerable basilica, in front of the aditum, leading to the body within the grating, he raised an altar in which, with all reverence and honour, were deposited the sacred relics of the blessed Sixtus, Martyr and Pope. The arch over the altar, he caused to be adorned in mosaic work. In like manner, and in the same most holy basilica of St. Peter, close to the gate leading to the blessed Petronilla, he made an oratory, remarkable for its magnitude and high embellishment—the canopy above the four columns by which it was enclosed, being curiously and richly wrought in mosaic and in the precious metals. In this oratory were deposited, to the honour and glory of the Omnipotent God ("wonderful in his Saints"*) the bodies of Processus and Martinianus Martyrs. In this oratory were three images wrought in silver, one of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and two others of the blessed Martyrs, to whom it was dedicated. There was another image of purest gold, weighing 13lb. 3oz.; but what it represented we are not told. Gabathas and canisters, of the former seven, of the latter eight—all in silver of the finest kind—are enumerated amongst the offerings with which this

* Ps.

oratory was enriched. For holding the sponge of the oil-light which burned by night, he gave a vessel of conchal form, 7 lb. 9 oz. weight—also two keys adjusted in the form of a cross, of purest gold, and so artfully inlaid with diamonds, that they sparkled and shone in a manner truly wonderful to behold. The rods for sustaining the curtains round about the shrine were of silver—and so were the arches under which you passed through the gates, which were two in number, and miracles of art. The Propitiatorium of the altar he embellished with lamina of silver. In keeping with all this were the vestments for the clergy, who were to minister at the altar, and the embroidered veils, which were suspended round it.

" Nor do I think that this is to be passed over in silence, in that, about the same time, there occurred a destructive conflagration, through a riot, to which certain of the English nation were stirred up by the spirit of wickedness ; and which raged so furiously, that of the entire burgh—the name by which they designate in their own language the quarter where they reside—there escaped not a single dwelling, but all were reduced to ashes: and the flames being carried from the burgh to the neighbouring portico, which leads to the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, nearly the whole of it was burned to the ground. Full of love and solicitude for the Church of the Blessed Peter the Apostle and for the pilgrim multitude, though it was at dead of night, the holy

Pontiff flew to the spot, without even waiting to take his sandals. His advent seemed to carry with it the mercy and interposition of the Most High, to whom his voice and anointed hands were lifted in supplication; for the raging element gave way before the prayers and exertions of the people, and seemed to recoil from where the Pontiff stood. With his accustomed charity and beneficence, he left nothing undone to console the now houseless strangers—though their ruin was in a great measure owing to their own misconduct. He provided them with garments, and with provisions in abundance—ordered them a supply of timber for rebuilding their burgh as before; and distributed amongst them large sums of gold and silver, to make up for what they had lost by the fire. The portico, also, which the flames had laid waste, he restored: making it superior, both as to ornament and solidity, to what it had been previously to this calamity."

It happened on one occasion, when Pope Paschal had been celebrating the office of some holy vigil in St. Peter's, that, as the matin-lauds were being chanted just at the dawn of morning, the vener-

* "Unde postmodum ter Beatissimus Pastor considerans illosum peregrinorum inopiam, quæ ob insidias diabolicæ fraudis irrepsit, tanta dona, tantaque beneficia, sicut semper solitus erat, in eorum necessitatibus impertivit, tam in auro, et argento, vel corporum indumenta, quam reliqua necessaria alimenta omnia uberius subministrabat. Sed et sylvarum copiam pro lignorum utilitate, quatenus domicilia, sicut ante in eodem loco fuerant, utiliter restaurarent."—*Anast. Bibl. ubi supr.*

able father was for a moment overcome by sleep; and as he slept, there stood before him a virgin form, arrayed as if in the raiment of an angel. "Many thanks do I tender thee," the virgin began to say, "for the persevering inquiries and researches you have been making with so much solicitude to discover where my body lies concealed. Though hitherto unsuccessful, you were more than once as near it as I am to you now." The Pontiff, whose soul had been absorbed in listening as the vision spoke, began first to ponder on what she had uttered, and then asked by what name he should salute her. "As to my name," rejoined the vision, "I am called Cæcilia, the handmaid of Christ."—"How am I then to believe what is stated of the body," said the Pontiff; "seeing that, from of old, it has been the rumour that the body of the blessed martyr of Christ, Cæcilia, was furtively carried away by the Lombard king, Astolfus, and his men—one time that he was here in Rome upon no friendly intent?" St. Cæcilia then informed the Pontiff, that, though it was quite true the Lombards had sought after her body, to carry it away with them, their endeavours had been frustrated through the mercy of Christ, and the help of our Lady—mother of God, the ever blessed Virgin Mary.* Encouraged

"Sed Domini mei Jesu Christi opitulatione, et Dominæ meæ Sanctæ Dei Genitricis, semperque Virginis Mariæ auxilio, &c."—*Anast. ub. supr.*

by this heavenly vision, the Pope redoubled his endeavours to find the body. Ere many days they were crowned with success; for, in the cemetery of Prætextatus, situate beyond the Appian gate, the body of the virgin martyr was at length discovered. It was robed in such rich and costly raiment, as was suitable to her patrician rank. Beside it was reposed the venerable body of Valerian, her noble spouse; and, at its feet—rolled in the linen cloths on which the Christians had received their martyr-blood—the head which the stroke, thrice repeated by the cruel executioner, had severed from the body of this heavenly virgin, was also found. With what piety the Pontiff, with his own anointed hands, prepared these sacred relics to be translated to the church which he had erected within the city (in Trastevere) to receive them; and how he had them carried thither in great and joyous pomp, and reposed beneath the high altar, together with the bodies of the martyrs, Tyburtius and Maximus, and of the holy martyr-Popes, Saints Urbanus and Lucius—all this, with the other details of all he did for the churches, hospitals, monasteries, and other institutions of the city, the nature of our plan obliges us to pass by unnoticed. It was in the month of January, and the first indiction, that Pope Paschal died.

After a vacancy of only four days, he was succeeded by Pope Eugenius II, by birth a Roman. His reign was of four years, two months, and three-and-twenty days.

"This man," says his biographer, "so venerable and illustrious, was of great simplicity and humility. Profoundly versed in learning, of surpassing eloquence, his figure, majestic and beautiful, impressed the beholder with delight and reverence. His heart was not wedded to the things of this world, which he distributed with large-handed munificence to all who were in need; so that, by day and by night, to do the will of his Redeemer was ever uppermost in his thoughts. During his times, the earth gave forth its fruits with most exuberant fertility; and, not the States of Rome alone, but nearly all the world besides, were crowned with the blessings of abundance and prosperity. Great also was the peace and security that reigned all over the Roman world."

Two other incidents only are recorded of this happy reign—the return of the Roman judges who had been detained in captivity among the Franks; and the repairing and beautifying of the church of St. Sabina on the Aventine, of which he was the Cardinal-presbyter at the time of his election to the Papacy. He is said to have received the exiles in the most paternal manner. He not only restored them to their families and to their estates, but by his munificence enabled them to recover from the

penury, to which their misdeeds it is probable as well as their misfortunes, had reduced them.*

Pope Eugenius II. was succeeded by another Roman, Valentinus II. His father's name was Petrus, a nobleman residing in the Via Lata region. He reigned only forty days. The great folio page in which the writer in Anastasius dispatches his life from earliest boyhood is a crowded record of his varied and shining virtues; but, there being in it nothing to our purpose, we pass on to the more protracted and eventful Pontificate of Gregory IV, a Roman also, by whom Valentinus was immediately succeeded.

This Pope, who reigned for sixteen years, was as worthy of his illustrious and sainted predecessors, as every apostolic virtue and qualification, possessed by him in an eminent degree, could make him. Of his journey beyond the Alps, and of his efforts to put a stop to the feuds so disastrous to Christendom, between Louis *le Debonnaire* and the princes his sons, we shall have to speak hereafter. The

* "Hujus diebus Romani judices, qui in Francia tenebantur captivi, reversi sunt; quos in parentum propria ingredi permisit, et eis non modicas res de Patriarchio Lateranensi præbuit, quia erant pene omnibus facilitatibus destituti."

Anast. in Vit. Eugenii II.

wonderful things which he did for the adorning of the city and the churches, we likewise pass over; and for the present restrict our notice of his reign to two transactions only—the restoration of the Sabbatina aqueduct, and the erection of a new city and fortified harbour on the site of the ancient Ostia Tiberina, which had long been sunk in hopeless ruin and decay.

How or when this aqueduct, which we have seen Pope Hadrian, not quite half a century ago, repairing, was destroyed, we cannot say. That great ravages were committed by the faction of Paschal and Campulus in their rebellion against Saint Leo III, we have already observed. We know that they destroyed some noble buildings. They had also brought into the city fierce bands of outlaws and strangers—half-savage men, and soldiers of fortune, inured to rapine, and taking delight in destruction. There is, as we before observed, something like an intimation in Anastasius that the rebels had laid siege to St. Peter's; and as it was from this aqueduct the whole Vatican received its supply of water, to break it up, in order to distress the besieged, was just such a manœuvre as Maurus of Nepi and the other auxiliaries of the traitors would be likely to think of, and carry into execution.

But however it occurred, whether by accident or by the agency of those infuriated miscreants who had proved themselves capable of the blackest atrocities, here is the aqueduct laid in ruins:—

confracta atque disrupta. These expressions confirm the impression that it was the work not of decay but of violence—they convey the idea that the structure had been "battered and broken up." The *plurimos annos* also, during which it had lain prostrate would tally exactly with the supposition of its having been injured during the disturbances of 799, a date from which our history is now separated by an interval of upwards of thirty years. Pope Gregory is said to have been moved to this enterprise by that fatherly and pastoral solicitude which made him anxious to discover how he could best alleviate the sufferings or promote the well-being and happiness of his people. "Wherefore," says the contemporary writer of his life,* "considering the privations of the Romans, because they had no means of grinding corn for their food, he, with the divine assistance, set vigorously and skilfully to re-construct the aqueduct, called the Sabbatina, which, shattered and disrupted, had

* This writer by remarking, with reference to the rebuilding of Ostia, that Gregory IV had done, when he erected a city, what is not recorded of any of the Pontiffs, gives proof positive that he wrote before the building of the *civitas Leonina,* or of *Leopolis* near the modern Civita Vecchia, by Pope Leo IV. who died A. D. 855. "Et revera merito hoc a conditoris sui nomine vocabulum sumpsit, quia quod nullum legimus fecisse pontificem, iste Dei Omnipotentis auxilio simulque virtute munitus, pro populo ac liberatione patriæ ante jam nominatum opus, &c."
Anast. Bib. in Vit. Greg. IV.

remained in a state of ruin for a great many years; and the profusion in which we now behold it pouring out torrents to supply the corn-mills of the Janiculum, and the baths and fountains belonging to the basilica of the blessed Peter the Apostle are a proof with what success his endeavours were crowned."*

"In the times of this holy father and pope, the cruel and nefarious race of the Agareni (the Saracens) having issued forth from the harbours of their own countries, had allowed no island or shore of the Mediterranean to escape their atrocities. These fierce and nefarious corsairs—hateful in the sight of God, on account of their depredations, and the brutalities they perpetrated, ferociously seizing on men and women, and dragging them away into slavery—did not cease to persecute the Christians wherever they went; sparing neither age nor sex, but ravaging fields and vineyards, towns and houses, cruelly, with fire and sword, wherever they could come; enormities," continues the biographer, "which they continue to practise to the present day.† Full of solicitude for the people confided to his care, this Pontiff, so abounding in tenderness and compassion, took it intensely to heart, how best

* "Hic benignissimus et præclarus Pontifex, dum bonus et verus pastor pro Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ statu maximam undique curam, ac vigilantiam gereret, considerans Romanorum penuriam, quod ubi triticum ad edendum molerent nullo modo haberent, divino fretus auxilio, &c."—*Anast. in vit Greg. IV.*

† "Easque hactenus facere nullatenus cessat."—*Anast. ub. supr.*

to prevent these ravages. The Almighty suggested it to him to rebuild the city of Ostia, long fallen into decay, so that of its former greatness there remained but a mass of shapeless ruins: that thus the coast might be defended, and a refuge provided, in times of attack or alarm, for the shepherds, herdsmen, and other inhabitants of the regions round about. The better to secure the success of this great undertaking and to urge on the work by his presence, the Pontiff not only visited the place, unhealthy and exposed as it was, but continued there until he saw the outer ramparts erected, and the people thus secured against any sudden attack."*

As the ancient writer describes this new city, it must have been of such strength as completely to set the Saracen corsairs at defiance. He calls it *valde fortissimam*, a city of surpassing strength. The walls he says, were exceeding high. The gates were strong. There were great bars and chains to secure them, and a *catharacta*, or what we call a drawbridge, to each. Besides the wall itself, he had the entire place surrounded with a foss so profound, and no doubt capable of being filled from the adjoining waters, (though the biographer does not mention this,) that even to come near the walls was a matter of difficulty. The ramparts were also furnished with means of offence—great engines, called by the bio-

* "Ipse ibidem Sanctissimus Papa per se multis residens diebus partem quandam murorum non modicam, cum suis hominibus quasi in sortem percipiens, a fundamentis erexit."—*Anast. ib.*

grapher *petrarias*, "contrived," he tells us, "with noble art," so as to be able to hurl huge masses of rock a distant enemy.*

On the death of Gregory IV, another Roman—Sergius, the son of Sergius, residing in the fourth region, succeeded him and reigned for three years.

The ancient biographer informs us that he had been left an orphan at a tender age. His mother, who had imbued his mind with piety from earliest childhood, died when he was in his twelfth year—his father had been already dead. When it came to the ears of the blessed Pope Leo III, who at that time wielded the sceptre of Rome, that the child was thus left an orphan, he sent for him to the house of the deceased noble personages, his parents; when they brought the boy into his presence, the countenance of the Pontiff beamed upon him with benignity and pleasure. Those feelings were increased from day to day, in consequence of the accounts he received of the singular progress in learning and virtue which was made by the orphan Sergius over all his companions in the Schola Cantorum: the institution to which the Pope had confided him, that he might be well grounded "in elementary learning,

* "Et desuper ad inimicos, si venerint, expugnandos, petrarias nobili arte composuit, et a foris non longe ab eisdem muris ipsam civitatem altiori fossato præcinxit, ne facilius muros contingere isti valerent."—*Anast. ubi supra.*

and in the sweet and melodious mysteries of song."* He then made him an acolyte in the holy Roman Church. The pious youth was promoted to the order of sub-deaconship by Pope Stephen, who had succeeded Leo III.—his Holiness having been moved to this by observing the ardour and proficiency of the youthful Sergius, in the study of the divine writings.† By his erudition and virtues he was so endeared to Pope Paschal, the successor of Stephen, that he ordained him as Cardinal-presbyter to the title of St. Sylvester, Confessor Pontiff: an eminence from which the virtues that adorned his life, his mercy towards the poor, his zeal for study, his vigilance as a pastor, and, in fine, his attachment to whatever belonged to the institutions of the faith, shone forth with redoubled lustre. Thus he continued under the successive reigns of Eugenius II, and Valentine II. He was greatly beloved by Gregory IV, by whom he was raised to the dignity of Arch-presbyter of holy Church.

On the demise of this venerable Pontiff, when the proceres, the optimates of the city, and the entire Roman people were assembled, and, according to custom, consulting as to who would be

* "Tunc Præsul eum Scholæ Cantorum ad erudiendum communibus tradidit litteris, et ut mellifluis instrueretur cantilenæ melodiis."—*Anast. Bib. in vit. Sergii II.*

† "Cum eum strenue in divinis Scripturis nobiliter contemplaretur velocem, protinus illi subdiaconatus concessit officium."—*Anast. ubi supr.*

Pope—it happened while many voices were clamouring for different names, that suddenly, as if by providential impulse, the thoughts of all were turned on the afore-mentioned Arch-presbyter Sergius; his virtues and high qualities became the theme of every tongue, until, at last, the acclamation broke forth from the vast assembly, that it was he who was worthy to wield the sceptre of the Pontificate. Unanimous in this resolve, they separated, each person retiring to his own home.*

Hardly had the faithful dispersed, when a certain deacon named John, belonging to the Lateran Church, became the sport of such frenzy and infatuation, that, being backed by a mob of turbulent, seditious, and ignorant people, he attacked the Lateran, (where no doubt the Sacred College was at that time assembled in conclave): broke open the gates, and rushed in with his furious and brutal followers, armed with all sorts of deadly weapons. All who were there were terrified and astonished at seeing such a mob of the profligate, the ruffianly, and the ignorant, preparing to trample under

* This passage very distinctly shews what sort of intervention in the Papal election was at that remote period assigned to the laity. Their testimony, as the Apostle recommends, was attended to, but the *elective voice* strictly speaking, remained with the bishops, presbyters, and deacons, constituting the sacred college, or higher clergy of Rome. There were at this meeting none but laity, *proceres*, judges, civil and military officers, *optimates Romanæ urbis*, the civic nobility, *populusque Romanus*, and the citizens of the different regions entitled to be present.

foot all the most sacred ordinances of religion; and in defiance of the canons, to force their ringleader on the throne of the Apostle. But after an hour of uproar and all sorts of violence, some unaccountable panic seized this furious populace: their synagogue was scattered; and in a brief space not a vestige of it was anywhere to be seen.

All the *princes of the Quirites* were inflamed with indignation, on hearing of what had taken place at the Lateran in their absence; and rushing from all quarters at full speed and with one accord, to the basilica of the blessed Martin, Confessor Pontiff, (of which Sergius was the Cardinal-priest) and laying hold of the said Arch-presbyter, Sergius, a man approved in every virtue, they forced him from the church. Then forming in procession, they rode along towards the Lateran, conducting him with the greatest honour and amidst the loud plaudits of the people, who chanted hymns and canticles of praise to give vent to their jubilee. What added to their exultation was, that their choice of a *candidate* appeared to be in a singular manner approved from on high; for the robes of the Arch-presbyter Sergius, became white as they conducted him along in the cavalcade, by reason of an unusually copious shower of snow which fell at the time.

On arriving at the Lateran, the first act of the *princes of the Roman city* was to drive out the aforementioned deacon, John; commanding him for his infamous temerity and dire presumption to be com-

mitted to prison. Some were for having him degraded, others would have torn and cut him to pieces with their swords; but the violence of such counsels were checked and moderated by the wisdom and benignity of the prelate Sergius, who was mindful of the Gospel injunction "not to return railing for railing," but to do good for evil. Then, at length, (this affair of deacon John being canonically adjusted) amidst the exultation of the *Sacerdotes*—the cardinal, bishops, priests and deacons—the *proceres*, the *optimates*, and all the *faithful people* of the Church, they enthroned the said most holy man in the Apostolic chair of St. Peter, and he was consecrated Pope.*

When the tidings of this consecration came to the ears of the Emperor Lothair, the Archbishop of Metz, named Drogo, and young Prince Hludowic, were sent in haste with a great army of the Franks to Rome. With them there went archbishops, bishops, abbots, and counts in great numbers by the Emperor's order; and no sooner had they entered the

* "Tunc denum exultantibus omnibus *sacerdotibus, proceribus,* et *optimatibus,* omnibusque *ecclesiæ populis,* idem sanctissimus vir in Apostolica beati Petri sacratissima sede ordinatus, consecratusque est Pontifex."—*Anast. Bib. ubi supr.*

It is alone in this last scene, when the CANDIDATE of the *proceres*, the *optimates*, and the *Populus Ecclesiæ* is formally elected, enthroned, consecrated Pontiff, that the *Sacerdotes*, Sacred College, intervene. The order of the election is obvious. It accords with the discipline of the primitive ages, and is virtually the same as that of the present day.

territory of Bologna, with their belligerent forces, than they began so to ravage the country and to massacre the inhabitants, that the whole face of the land was covered with fugitives,—the cities and the homesteads, dispersed through the fields and vineyards, being abandoned by multitudes to escape from the edge of the sword. Thus marched the armies of Lothair, the same outrageous scenes of havoc, rapacity, and violence, marking their passage through the cities, the towns, the villages, and richly cultivated fields, till they arrived at the bridge of Capella. There, the heavens being previously without a cloud, the atmosphere without any visible token of rain or tempest, the whole sky became overcast on a sudden with dense, black, masses of clouds. The storms were let loose: the lightnings flashed on every side; and, by the thunderbolts which fell, some of Drogo's primates (his staff officers) were struck dead by his side, (as if in punishment of the bloodshed and rapine of which they had been the promoters, or which they had not checked and punished.) All the Franks were terror-stricken by this awful judgment, but all fear, and the remorse which they had felt for their misdeeds, passed away like the clouds from the face of the heavens; and with redoubled speed, and not a whit the less ferocious than hitherto in act and intent, they pressed forward to Rome.

The blessed Pontiff, Sergius, when their nearer approach was announced by his messengers, sent forward all the Roman judges as far as the ninth

mile stone, in order not to be wanting in that respect towards Prince Hludowic which was due to his station. In like manner, he sent the military of the regions, with their commanders, to receive him at the first mile stone, (near the Milvian bridge); and at a point still nearer, his Holiness directed the crosses and ensigns, borne by the clergy in the reception of an emperor or king, to await the royal youth, and receive him with the accustomed honours on his approach. The effect on the youthful prince was immediately visible. The fiercer passions gave way to more serene and joyous emotions in the presence of these touching emblems and memorials of the Redeemer; and without the least violence or confusion, but in form of a devout procession, each order in its appointed place, the two nations, the Romans and the Franks, came on entoning hymns and canticles as was prescribed on such occasions, until they arrived at the steps of Saint Peter's, above which, on the platform in front of the gates, the Pontiff stood, with his clergy marshalled around him according to order and dignity. There he received Prince Hludowic with the kiss of peace, after the latter had ascended the steps, as his renowned ancestors used to do; and so they entered into the atrium and came close to the portals, Prince Hludowic holding the Pope's right hand in his.

At this moment, one of the Frank warriors breaking out into fits of rage and violence, as if possessed of a demon, the Pontiff commanded

all the portals and entrances to St. Peter's to be closed and secured with bars. Then addressing the king in words suggested by the Divine Spirit, he said, "If with a pure intention and a will sincerely disposed to seek the advantage of the Christian commonwealth, of the city, and of this church, thou hast come hither, by my behest enter these portals; if otherwise, neither by me, nor by my permission, shall they be thrown open to you." Then the king protesting that nothing was farther from his mind than any malignant feeling or hostile intention, the Pontiff placed both his hands against the portals, which opened at his command, and so they entered the temple, all voices being joined in the canticle, *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*, &c.

After all had prostrated themselves in prayer before the shrine of St. Peter, adoring the omnipotent God, and pouring out their thanks, the Pontiff gave his solemn blessing to the vast congregation, and all left the church together.

But as for the environs of Rome and the surrounding estates, vineyards, meadows, and cornfields, they became blasted, ravaged, and defaced, as if by some preternatural visitation. Nothing that could be eaten up, destroyed, or plundered, escaped the fierce and ruthless multitude of the Franks who had pitched their tents around the walls. It was suggested by some persons to the Pontiff that it would be also agreeable to the Franks to enter this

city, of all cities the most famed and beautiful, on the score of hospitality; this, however, the Pontiff would not hear of, but caused the gates to be closed and fortified against attack or surprise.

"On the following Sunday, all the archbishops, holy abbots, and all the nobility who had come with the king, having congregated in St. Peter's, and all the princes of the Romans also being there, the Pontiff bestowed the regal unction on Hludowic the son of the Emperor Lothair; he placed on his head thus anointed with holy oil, a most precious crown, and made him king of the Lombards. He also gave into his hands the sword of royalty, enjoining him to gird it on. Then, the celebration of mass being ended, surrounding the king with great exultation, the Franks returned to their quarters outside the walls, and the Romans returned to the city."*

From what follows, it would appear that debates, the most violent and menacing, were carried on day by day by the Emperor's uncle, Drogo of Metz, supported by prelates andcounts of the empire in great force, and by such malcontents amongst the clergy as the Archbishops Ebbo and Bartholomæus, who had been degraded for their crimes, and to whom Pope Sergius refused to restore the pallium, or even to allow the communion, except in the ranks of the

* "Tunc Pontifex manibus suis ipsum Hludowicum Lotharii Imperatoris filium oleo sancto perungens, regali ac pretiosissima coronavit corona, regemque LONGOBARDIS prefecit."—*Anast. ubi supra.*

laity. This violence had the same object as the cruel ravages which had marked the progress of the Frank army through the States. Both were intended to inspire terror, and thus wring from the Pontiff some such admission of supremacy over the Popes—both as to the sovereignty of the States, and as to the mode of their election—as might be gratifying to the ambition of the cruel-hearted and tyrannous Lothair,—one of the most ferocious, lustful, and worthless monarchs that ever defiled the pages of history with his crimes. But the Apostolic courage and firmness, tempered with the soothing spirit of mildness, with which Sergius resisted these attacks, not only foiled them, but covered their authors with such confusion and sorrow for their conduct, that they entirely put off the ire and ferocity that had hitherto marked their demeanour.* The Pope refused to allow the Roman princes and magistrates to swear allegiance to the newly anointed king Hludowic. "If you wish," said he, "I consent to and permit their taking the oath of fidelity to the lord emperor Lothair;" because, in conferring the imperial dignity, as we have proved, it was the chief aim of the Pontiffs that the potentate who wore it, should have a jurisdiction over the Romans with a

* "Ab eo autem superati pudore, et operti confusione, discesserunt. Quod videntes omnen iram, atque ferocitatem quam mentibus observabant, omni modo deposuerunt."—*Anast. Bib. in vit. Sergii.*

view to the protection and defence of the Apostolic See, but not to its subjugation.*

"It also happened," adds the same ancient writer, "while king Hludowic was at Rome, that Siginulf, prince of the Beneventines, came thither, at the head of a great army, and met from the king of the Lombards the most gracious reception. But as for the whole country round about the city, much as it had been ravaged before, its fate after the arrival of this additional multitude became worse than ever. Hardly a blade of grass was left; and where the encampments of these three nations, the Franks, the Lombards, and the Beneventines, were joined, their various coloured tents, adorned with banners, were seen covering the surrounding heights of Monte Mario and the Janiculum, and spreading out over the Campagna, along the Tiber, and towards the Anio and the Alban mountains."†

Then follows a striking instance of that caprice and inconstancy of the barbarian character, by which individuals and whole multitudes were frequently seen to pass with the greatest vehemence and sin-

* "Tunc demum in eadem ecclesia *sedentes* pariter, tam Beatissimus Pontifex, quam magnus rex, et omnes archiepiscopi et episcopi, *stantibus* reliquis sacerdotibus, et Romanorum ac Francorum optimatibus, fidelitatem Lothario magno imperatori semper Augusto. *promiserunt*."—*Anast. Bib. ib.*

† "Et cum simul Franci, Longobardi, ac Beneventani congregati fuissent, facta est ingens populi multitudo, ita ut ex omni parte Roma circumdata videretur: quorum multitudine omnia sata deleta sunt."—*Anast. Bib. ib.*

cerity, from one extreme of feeling to the opposite extreme. It is not long since this same Siginulf of Beneventum attacked and pillaged the far-famed monastery of Mount Casino: now that he is at Rome, he burns with longing to lay his eyes on the successor of St. Peter, and to receive his blessing. The Pontiff receives him. The ravager of the sanctuary of St. Benedict throws himself prostrate on the ground, he embraces and humbly imprints his kisses on the Pontiff's feet; and being blessed by him, retires from his presence, crowned with joy, and returning thanks to heaven.

In writing, or in perusing history, it should never be forgotten, that whole races and nations have to pass through progressive stages of development, resembling not a little the alternations by which the individual is conducted from boyhood to senility; and, surely, nothing but that Divine influence, which it was promised should be abiding "all days," with the Church over which the Popes presided, could ever have enabled them to achieve a task, of which that of Moses conducting the wayward people through the desert, was, as to its difficulty, as in every other respect, but a feeble type.

"All these transactions ended, these princes and their armies retired in great exultation—Siginulf, no doubt, to the south, and king Hludowic to Pavia. The joy in Rome was beyond all bounds. Pope Sergius was hailed with blessing and applause by all orders and every sex, for having rid them of such

a scourge, and rescued the city from a tyranny not to be endured."*

We add but one incident more connected with the reign of this Pope, as we shall have to return to it again. It is a brief notice taken from the annals of the Franks. It says that early in the pontificate of Sergius, there came from Fulda to Rome, two monks, Asericus and Theodbertus. They were the bearers of a beautiful volume illuminated with a variety of figures. This book contained a poem by Rabanus the abbot of Fulda, written in praise of the Holy Cross of Christ; and he thus sent it to have it offered through Pope Sergius to ST. PETER.†

The account of all that was done for the churches by Pope Sergius takes up the greater portion of the life in Anastasius. The details are full of interest: we restrict our extracts, however, to one brief entry, relative to the church of Saints Sylvester and Martin, (now known as San Martino in Monte,) which he rebuilt in a style of great magnificence, more especially as to its internal decoration and ornaments:—

"To evince the love of his heart for that house

* "Tunc læti omnes cum conjugibus ac liberis, senatus populusque Romanus ingenti peste liberati, et jugo tyrannicæ immanitatis redempti, sancissimum Sergium Præsulem, velut salutis auctorem, ac restitutorem pacis, venerebantur."—*Anast. Bib. in vit. Sergii.*

† "Rabanus—librum quem de laude sanctæ crucis Christi, figurarum varietate distinctum, difficili et mirando poemate composuit, per Aserichum et Theodbertum monachos monasterii Fuldensis, Sergio Papæ, Sancto Petro offerendum transmisit."—*Ann. Franc. ap. Baron. an.* 844. *n.* XXV.

of God, he had the absis of it beautified with figures in mosaic on a golden ground.* A crown of gold, also, very precious, he offered there. It was set with a variety of jewels, gems, amethysts, and pearls, and was surmounted by a cross of the purest gold. The cross also was sparkling with jewellery, as may be seen to the present day, for this regnum is still suspended there above the altar."†

To Sergius II, Pope Leo, the fourth of that name, succeeded. He, also, was a Roman. His pontificate, which lasted eight years, three months, and five days, is allowed to have been glorious, even by such traducers of the papacy as Voltaire and Sismondi. They are enthusiastic in his praise; nor is this to be wondered at. Such are the eulogies bestowed upon his virtues by the contemporary biographer—who manifestly painted from the life—and so memorable are the achievements which he crowded into the very restricted period during which he filled the Papal throne, that to malevolence itself, no alternative was left but, either to speak of it as they have done, or to have omitted all allusion to his reign. We could have wished to set before the reader the entire biography, for it bears the stamp of originality, and is replete with interest in every line; our limits, however, will

* "Absidam ipsius aureis musivo perfuso coloribus ingenti amore depinxit."—*Anast. ib.*

† "Quod nunc usque super altare cernitur pendens."—*Ib.*

admit of our extracting such passages, only, as more strictly belong to our subject. We begin with the building of the Città Leonina, as it is called to the present day, or the fortifying with strong walls that region beyond the Tiber called the Vatican, and which, up to that period, had never been included within the walls. The Etruscan soothsayers had there an oracle from the most recondite antiquity; a terebinth tree, which grew there at a period less remote, was said to be sacred to Romulus on some account or other. In the historical era, previous to the times of the empire, the Vatican was known only as an out-of-the-way place, where were pits and excavations under ground, from which potters and others drew forth that sort of sand so well known as pozzolana. It was in the *catacombs* thus formed his disciples hid the body of St. Peter. Nero had built a circus in the Vatican, and a temple to Apollo—the reader is familiar with the rest.

Never, even for Rome, was the horizon more lowering than on the day that Pope Sergius II. breathed his last. The reasons we shall more fully state hereafter. Already the Christian city had escaped, narrowly, another visitation as cruel and destructive as any of those which had helped to reduce its pagan predecessor to utter desolation. It had seen the Saracens beneath its walls; they had promised to return; and the very delay of their coming only increased the terror, because it was known that every day was adding to the forces and the destruc-

tive engines with which they had sworn by the Prophet to overpower resistance. "Omnis Romanorum vigor elanguit," is the brief sentence in which a picture of Rome, at that crisis of peril and despondency, is struck off by the old biographer. At this time it was—a time to try men's souls—that all hopes were turned on the son of Rodoaldus, Leo, the Cardinal-presbyter of the Quatuor Coronati title, alike renowned for his commanding qualities as for his virtues; and, as such, marked out by the hand of Providence to become not only a worthy successor of the Prince of Apostles; but, as a sovereign and a patriot, the saviour of his country.

Despite of all his resistance, and before the body of Sergius had been yet entombed, they conducted the Pope elect to the Lateran; where "all, ACCORDING TO ANCIENT CUSTOM," says the biographer, "kissed his feet."*

The walls of the Leonine city had been traced out, and their erection commenced as far back as the reign of St. Leo III; their chief object was to protect the basilica of St. Peter; nevertheless, before putting his hand to a work so sacred and so near to his apostolic heart, this true father of his people, in the first place, devoted all his thoughts to placing the city in a perfect state of safety. We leave his biographer to tell how he proceeded.

* "Qui, *morem conservantes antiquum,* omnes osculati sunt pedes."—*Anast. Bib. in vit. Leon IV.* p. 231. A. col. 2.

"He inspected," he says, "the entire circuit of the walls as Pope Hadrian had left them. During a lapse of seventy years of uninterrupted security and peace, they had been little heeded; the repairs which time and neglect had rendered necessary were not trifling; but the multitudes and the resources which Pope Leo brought to bear upon the work enabled him to complete it in a marvellously brief space of time. The gate-towers also he caused to be repaired and strengthened. For the old gates he had new ones substituted, so massive as to defy all assaults of the enemy; and the more effectually to urge on the works, he was constantly visiting the various parts around the entire circuit, mounted on horseback, and surrounded by the chief dignitaries of his court. He often alighted, and went on foot to inspect the works more closely; and, moving from point to point among the bands marshalled under their overseers and leaders, cheered them forward in their labours by his presence, his exhortations, and his blessing."*

No less than fifteen of the great towers had to be rebuilt from the foundation. Two of these were immediately on the bank of the river near the Porta Portese—one on the Trastevere side, and the other

* "Quæ denique omnia, ut cito fierent, et ad effectum, decoremque essent perducta, vir Apostolicus indifferenter non solum equo residens, verumtamen sane pedibus propriis per muros, vel portas, cum suis fidelibus discurrebat, quatenus in restauratione eorum, mora nulla, aut dilatio fuisset exorta."—*Anast. ib.*

under the Aventine. They were constructed, the ancient writer tells us, with wonderful skill and solidity. "They were," he says, "the terror of the Saracens, and the salvation of Rome." These rock-built towers, completely commanding the Tiber, were provided with enormous chains to be drawn across the interval between them in order more effectually to render the passage of hostile galleys impossible. "These bastions," he adds, "were regarded as a miracle of military art, and were, on account, not alone of their admirable adaptation for defence and attack, but also for architectural majesty and effect, the theme of universal praise in his own times among the Romans, and the stranger-pilgrims, who used to flock to Rome from all parts of the world." It cannot be doubted, that the great Alfred and his royal father Ethelwulf beheld these and the other grand erections of this Pope, (by whom the youthful Alfred was not only crowned king but adopted,) while they were still new.

These measures of defence, and the indefatigable zeal with which they were urged forward by the Pontiff were not superfluous. They were not yet completed, when messengers came hastening with the tidings that the Saracens were gathering their fleets from all parts of the surrounding seas at a sta-

* "Quod NOVITER opus constructum, et Romanæ Urbis defensionem præstat, et videntibus non modicum, sed grande miraculum, quia cum magna sapientiæ, subtili prudentia, et honestate, patratum est."—*Anast. p.* 236. B. col. 1.

tion called Torzarum, close to the island of Sardinia; in order, with such a force as would carry all before it, to make a fresh descent upon the Roman shore. In this emergency, there lacked not hosts full of enthusiasm for the defence of the city and territories of St. Peter, to meet the infidel corsairs on their own element. From all the maritimé cities of the south, at that time the emporiums of the commerce and the enterprizes, which partly migrated to Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, in after times:—from Gaeta, Neapolis, and Amalfi, stout galleys, full of armed men, were seen crowding with sail and oar towards Ostia, to oppose the landing of the Saracens.

Great alarm was the first effect produced by the appearance of this friendly armament in the Roman waters; but when Cæsarius, the son of Sergius, who had been elected to the chief command among the Christians, had repaired to the Lateran with the Pope's messengers; and, with the other envoys from the fleet, had removed all doubt as to the object of the armament, the magnanimous Leo hastened in person to the scene of danger, to bless the brave defenders of the Apostolic territory, and to cheer them by his presence. In the city of Ostia, he received the homage of these champions of the faith with the tenderness of a father. "Prostrate on the ground," says the biographer, "they kissed his venerable feet, giving thanks to the Most High for sending his vicar to inspire them with redoubled energy and chivalry in such a crisis; and the better

to assure them of victory against the sons of Belial, they besought him, that it might be from his own hand they should receive the body of the Lord, before going to battle. All repaired in solemn procession as penitents, chanting the psalms and litanies, to the Church of St. Aurea; and there, having shed many tears, and prepared themselves for the holy communion, Pope Leo celebrated mass, and all received from his own hand. It was announced that the infidel invaders were bearing down. The Christians now joyfully prepared each one to take his post; but before they went to the encounter, the Pontiff, (like another Moses,) his eyes bathed in tears, his hands lifted up to heaven, thus invoked upon them the divine assistance, in the awful conflict which they were on the point of entering.

"*O God, thou, whose right hand sustained St. Peter amidst the waves, and thrice liberated St. Paul from being swallowed in the deep, give ear in mercy to our supplications, and grant, through the merits of these thy devoted Apostles, that those who are about to encounter the enemies of thy holy Church may be kept by thy Right Arm in the hour of struggle, and may prevail; that, in the triumph they shall thus achieve, all nations may be made to recognize thy glory: through our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.*"*

* "Mox ad civitatem Ostiam properavit, omnesque Neapolitanos grandi, atque eximia devotione suscepit. Qui ut summum Præsulem conspexerunt, pedes ejus, humo prostrati, venerabiles sunt osculati, gratiasque Omnipotenti Altithrono retulerunt, qui ad se

This prayer was so far efficacious that, it would appear, the destruction of the corsairs was the work not so much of the valour of the Christians as of an awful tempest by which they were overwhelmed, or so dispersed among the islands along the Italian coast, that they either fell an easy conquest under the swords of superior numbers, or being made prisoners were doomed to feel the same hardships and humiliations which they were wont to inflict upon the multitudes of Christian captives,—the victims their fiendish passions tore from every shore. As for those who fell into the hands of the Romans, the proceres are said to have had some of them put to death. Others of them, by orders of the Pope, were obliged to labour—sometimes at the erection of the new walls; sometimes at such drudgery through the city as is usually assigned to public criminals. Thus were the myriads who were constantly resorting to the tombs of the Apostles, by the sight of these infidel corsairs working in chains,

confortandos talem dirigere decrevit Antistitem. Qui ut meliores de Belial filiis victores existerent, summopere precati sunt, ut de suis sacris manibus corpus Dominicum percipere meruissent. Quibus ore suo missam in ecclesia Beatæ Aureæ decantavit, atque universi ex illius, ut dictum est, manibus communionem sumpserunt. Et antequam hæc fierent, usque ad præfatam ecclesiam cum hymnis, ac litaniis, canticisque præcipuis, simul cum ipsis Neapolitanis, Christo auxilianto profectus est. In qua, etiam flexis genibus, Allissimum deprecatus est, quatenus orationibus suis, Ipse Christianorum hostes in manus resistentium tradere dignaretur, &c."—*Anast. Biblioth. p.* 237.

confirmed in their reliance on that Divine Arm by whose might they had been confounded, when preparing to invade and utterly to subvert the temple and city of St. Peter.*

At length, to the ineffable joy of the Pontiff's heart, the ramparts enclosing the new city, and, for the future, securing the great sanctuary of the Apostle against being pillaged or profaned, were completed. Their erection occupied from the second to the sixth year of his reign. All parts of the States had alike co-operated in the glorious undertaking. The people belonging to each city, estate, and monastery, were divided into bands, which relieved each other in turn; so that the work was never suspended or allowed to languish; while by the communities, on account of this judicious arrangement, their share in it was scarcely felt as a burden. The vigilance and activity of the Pope himself was

* "Aliquantos etiam nos ferro constrictos vivere jussimus, per hanc solummodo causam, ut et spem nostram quam in Deum habemus, et illius ineffabilem pietatem, necnon et propriam (eorum) tyrannidem luce clarius scire voluissent. Et post hæc, ne otiose, aut sine angustia apud nos viverent, aliquando ad murum, quem circa ecclesiam Beatissimi Apostoli Petri habebamus inceptum, aliquando per diversa artificium opera quicquid necessarium videbatur, per eos omnia jubebamus deferri."—*Anast. Bib. ib.* This reads like an extract from a letter or allocution of the Pope. This victory over the Saracens or AGARENI, the name by which the infidel corsairs were known in that age, is the subject of the noble frescoes with which the Sala Regia in the Vatican is adorned.

unwearying. In all weathers, he was to be seen wherever his presence was most required, or could be of greatest effect in urging forward this work of love, in which he sought only the glory of his Omnipotent Redeemer, and to approve himself a faithful steward of the interests of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, which had been entrusted to his care.

Mindful of what is written: "in vain do they labour who build a city, unless the Almighty guard it"—he next prepared to draw down on the work, thus completed, the Divine guardianship and protection. With this view, a solemn procession was led, in the first place, round the entire circuit of the walls. The bishops, priests, and all the other orders of the clergy, went bare-footed, with ashes strewed upon their heads, in token of humiliation and repentance in the presence of the Most High. Their songs of contrition, the invocations of the Litanies, and the Psalms of the penitent King, were made to reverberate along the ridges of the Janiculum, and the banks of the adjacent Tiber. Vast multitudes, either followed the procession along the ramparts above, which were sprinkled with holy water by cardinal bishops, or joined their voices in the prayers and canticles from the surrounding heights, from the house tops, and ruins of the city on this side the Tiber, from which they beheld this sublime and affecting testimony,—that it is not in rock-built ramparts or in any mortal valour, but in God alone and the angels sent by Him to defend her,

that the hope of the Church is reposed. At three several points of the circuit the procession halted, and at each a prayer was chanted as in the solemn mass by the holy Pontiff: the fervour of whose tones, and whose tears, bore witness to the emotions of his Apostolic heart. These prayers are given in Anastasius. The first was over the gate looking towards the edifice—whether a church or an hospice, or both, we cannot decide for certain—called *ad Sanctum Peregrinum:* the second was over the postern gate (*posterula*), commanded by the castle called *Sancti Angeli;* and over another postern called *Saxonum posterula,* because it faces the school of the Saxons, the third of these prayers was said. At that point, descending from the ramparts, the procession, now entoning canticles of triumph, proceeded to the adjoining basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, on the vigil of whose festival these ceremonies took place. The holy Father offered up the mass for the safety of the people and of the Leonine city: after mass he made rich presents to all the nobles of Rome, distributing not only gold and silver but cloaks also of costly silks; so that this memorable day, the seven and twentieth of June, in the year of Christ 853, was crowned with universal rejoicing.*

* "Dein cum cæteris sacerdotibus et omnibus Romanorum proceribus ad ecclesiam Beati Petri Apostoli cum orationibus, divinisque laudibus tendens missam pro saluti populi et civitatis incolumitate, ac stabilitate perpetua, honorifice decantavit. Iis

This indefatigable prince did not rest satisfied with these precautions against the assaults from the Agareni, which his foresight shewed him but too plainly were impending. The better to secure the sea-board, and more especially the mouths of the Tiber, he did for the ancient city of Porto, what Gregory IV. had done for Ostia: he rebuilt it, and surrounded it with walls of great strength, and with other defences.

It happened at this very juncture that there came to the *Limina Apostolorum*, as to the common asylum of the afflicted, a great number of fugitives from Corsica, who had been at length obliged to give up the conflict against the Agareni, from whose ferocious attacks they had had no respite for many years. Their tale of suffering was listened to with the deepest compassion by the Pontiff. He did not confine himself to mere expressions of sympathy; the new maritime city which he had just completed, and which was an abode so suitable for them as being addicted to a sea-faring life, he assigned to these Corsicans to be held by them and their posterity as the vassals of St. Peter. "If you be

itaque sacris peractis officiis, cunctos nobiles Romæ multiplicibus donis, non tantum in auro, argentove, sed et sericis palliis honoravit, atque ditavit. Fuitque die illo magna cunctis lætitia, videlicet, die septimo et vicesimo mensis junii pridie ante Beatissum. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli vigilias, sed et per totam Romanam urbem infinita gaudia et exultationes innumeræ celebratæ sunt."—*Anast. Bib. in vit. Leon IV.* p. 241. col. 1.

so minded," he said, "as to adopt it for your country, we will assign to you vineyards, and estates for tillage, and meadows, and pasture lands, so that you can want for nothing. We will also give you, for yourselves, your wives and children, provisions in abundance, until your own crops have come round. Herds of cattle, also, you shall have, and horses, and stock of all kinds, if you be only faithful as liegemen of the Church, and courageous to resist the enemy." It need hardly be added with what joy and enthusiastic gratitude, the fugitive Corsicans accepted of those conditions, on which they accordingly became the faithful liegemen of St. Peter, and of his successors the Popes.*

About this same time it was, that for the reformation of the clergy, and to promote the stricter observance of the canons, a Synod was assembled in St. Peter's. There were present sixty-seven bishops. Forty-two capitula, or heads of discipline, were drawn up and added by order of the Pontiff to the decrees of his predecessors, to be rigorously

* "In qua, si manere cupitis, vineas vobis, ac terras, prataque concedemus, ut nullam possitis habere inopiam. Damus etiam vobis quousque ex labore vestro habeatis, vos, et mulieres vestræ, ac filii, unde vivere plenissime valeatis. Boves etiam, et caballos, et animalia cætera, sicut prædiximus, si cuncto bono animo feceritis.—Placuerunt si quidem omnia, et spoponderunt æquanimiter omnes, quod si noster Papa, et Dominus, universa quæ circuivimus fuerit dignatus conferre, cum omni familia, et supellectili nostra in servitium Sancti Petri, ut suum, successorumque, cum omni aviditate properabimus."—*Anast. Bib. ubi supra*, p. 22.

enforced and observed for all time to come as a portion of the sacred canons of the Church. To this Synod, (of which Pope Leo caused an immense picture, probably in mosaic, to be placed in the basilica of the Apostle), we have referred, because some secular transactions (to which we shall have to allude a little farther on) grew out of it: otherwise we should have passed it over altogether unnoticed—as we have done, and shall continue to do with innumerable other transactions appertaining exclusively to the general history of the Church, into which it would be quite incompatible with our plan to enter.

Pope Leo was not yet done with building new cities and repairing old ones. For forty years, the ancient city of Centum Cellæ had been reduced to solitude; its walls were levelled to the ground; and those who had formerly dwelt prosperous and happy within their circuit, now but one vast deformed mass of ruins, had long been driven to the fastnesses of the woods and neighbouring hills, for refuge against the ruthless and sudden invasions of the Saracens. It pains us not a little, that space does not permit us to set before the reader, the singularly picturesque description given in the old biography of Pope Leo's visit to this scene of desolation; how night and day it occupied his thoughts,—where best he could erect a new city for the fugitives, with a view not only to their security, but to their comfort: how he was admonished in vision where to build it: how

he traced out the foundations with his own hand for the exterior walls, and for the churches, which he after had erected within, and adorned in the most beautiful and costly style; and finally, how, when the new city—called Leopolis, from its founder—was finished, he dedicated it, in accordance with the ritual as we have already described—the ramparts being sprinkled with holy water, a prayer recited in honour of each of the divine persons of the Trinity, mass solemnly chanted at the conclusion by the Pontiff, and presents (less costly no doubt than in the case of the Leonine city), distribute d with his own hands to the entire of the inhabitants.*

It escaped us to mention what is set down by the biographer as to his exertions, at an earlier period, for restoring the gates and walls of the two ancient cities of Horta and Ameria. These defences had fallen so grievously into dilapidation and neglect, that there was nothing to hinder either thieves by night, or marauding parties by day, from entering in quest of pillage. In both places, by the exhortations of their sovereign Pontiff, the citizens were roused to exertion, and with his help they soon had the pride and happiness to see their ramparts

* "His omnibus perpetratis, ad sedem suam cum ingenti lætitia et alacritate, Christo auxiliante, dieque superaddito decimoquinto, omnis murorum ambitus completus, atque perfectus est, anno præsulatus sui octavo, indictione secunda."—*Anast. Bib.* p. 245.

in such a posture as to enable them to bid defiance to all attack.*

From this glimpse of the interior of the States, we can collect that as yet they are in the enjoyment of great security, and entirely exempt from the horrors of feud and razzia, the offspring of that anarchy which grew out of the Saracenic and other invasions: the shadows of which begin already to fall darkly and menacingly on the historic page.

As yet it is only against *fures* and *latrones*, a people abounding in the affluence which a long protracted peace, and a most paternal government have brought with them, have to shut their city gates, or set a warder upon the ramparts as they are retiring to rest at night.† But oh! what hurricanes of blood and violence are to succeed to this halcyon calm—which, though writers of history have passed it over almost unnoticed, is one of the most interesting and important, as it is decidedly one of the most happy and tranquil, periods to be met with in the annals either of modern or ancient times. The new order of things established in Italy by the great Pope

* "In quibus modo civitatibus exaratis, cives et ab inimicorum insidiis melius securi inhabitant, et fures, ac latrones, clausis muris ac portis, nullum damnum, furtum tam noctibus, quamque diebus, de cætero valebunt inferre."—*Anast. Bib. ib. p.* 242.

† "Quas (the broken gates and gaps in the walls) modo fures, modo latrones ingredi, patentibus aditis, *nullo resistente custode*, facilius ingrediebantur."—*Anast. Bib. ubi supra.* They did not think it worth while even to keep a solitary watchman, *custode*, on the walls.

Hadrian and Charlemagne has lasted, and has been bringing forth successive harvests of blessings for that country, and more especially for the States of the Church, during now close upon one hundred years; that is from the year 776 to 855, the year in which Pope Leo IV. was summoned to receive the recompense of those virtues, that have won for him the applause and admiration of writers the most embittered against the papacy, and from the Church the aureole of a Saint.

CHAPTER IV.

Benedict III. a Roman by nation, son of Peter, succeeded. This Pope reigned two years, six months, and ten days. He was adorned by every apostolic virtue: so that when the chair of St. Peter became vacant by the death of Pope Leo, all minds and hearts were turned towards Benedict as most worthy to be the successor of so great a Pontiff. His bearing in the sublime office did not belie these hopes; for on his death, the Romans were heart-broken at his loss; and all orders wept for him as for a common father.

When they came to the church of St. Calixtus, of which he was the Cardinal-presbyter, to carry him to the Lateran, with the most earnest entreaties, on bended knees, and with tears, he besought them to desist from their design. "Tear me not," he cried, "I implore of you, from my beloved church; for I am not qualified to occupy such an eminence: I am not equal to such a burden."* But, despite of his entreaties and resistance, they carried him forth in their arms, conducted him with the accustomed

* "Interea multis cum lacrimis, genua flectens, flebili voce, omnes deprecabatur, taliter dicens, non me a mea deducatis ecclesia rogo, quia tanti culminis non sufficio sustinere, nec bajulare gravamen."—*Anast. Bib. in vit. Bened. III.*

hymns and canticles of joy to the Lateran, where he was enthroned.

It was a great day for Rome, and the rejoicing was universal. It was judged more prudent, however, not to proceed to the consecration, without first sending legates to the Emperor Ludovic II. at Pavia; and the more so, on this account, that not many days previous to the death of the late Pope, the Emperor had been to Rome in a state of the highest exasperation, it having been told him by a military officer in the Papal service, that Gratian, the commander of the Roman troops, standing high in favour—as *superitsta* and *consiliarius*—with the Pontiff, had (one day that the said informant, whose name was Daniel, was with him in his palace,) proposed that the Greeks should be invited to assume the protectorate of the holy see, and the Franks driven out of Italy; "for," said Gratian, "we receive no assistance from the Franks; and instead of defending the country, they are good only to oppress and plunder it." The statement had been proved false, on solemn investigation held in the great triclinium of Leo III. in the Vatican; and the accuser himself was obliged, in the presence of the Pontiff, the Emperor Ludovic, and the whole august company before whom he stood, to admit that it was false. But, nevertheless, so obviously well merited were the charges in themselves with which Gratian was accused of having reproached the Franks, that they had evidently cut the Emperor

to the quick. Wherefore, two envoys were named, Nicholas, bishop of Anagni, and Mercurius, master of the forces (magister militum), to repair to Pavia, there to notify the election. By these sage precautions, however, the bark of St. Peter was involved in one of the fiercest—while it lasted—of those trials through which it has had to pass during so many stormy centuries.

In alluding to the Synod held under Leo IV. in St. Peter's, we apprised the reader that we should have to revert to the subject, and we are now led to do so by what occurred, while the envoys Nicholas and Mercurius were on their way to Pavia.

In that Synod a certain Cardinal-priest, named Anastasius, of the title of St. Calixtus, had the sentence of deposition and anathema pronounced against him, on account of his manifold and heinous delinquencies. On two several occasions, he had been summoned by apostolic letters, and by a deputation of three bishops, to appear and defend himself from the crimes of which he stood charged. Conscious guilt, on both occasions, caused him contumaciously to disobey. This wicked priest, thus weighed down with guilt and the heaviest censures, was leagued with one Arsenius his uncle, who was also under anathema for misconduct, and who, coming out from the city of Eugubium over which he presided as bishop, to meet the envoys of the Romans, so played his part as to win them over to his designs.

He hoped by the influence of the Emperor, whose anger he knew had not yet subsided, to set aside the election made by the Romans, and to oblige them to raise his culprit nephew to the throne of St. Peter.

We waste not the time it would require to thread our way through the dark labyrinth of intrigue, duplicity, and open violence, by which the plot was brought to such a point of maturity, that Anastasius was enabled to carry all before him by terror and violence, even to the plundering of St. Peter's, with such circumstances of impiety as threw the depredations committed by the Saracens into the shade; and to the destruction of the great mosaic in which was represented the Synod that had struck him with the anathema which he would seem to have richly deserved. Supported by the imperial envoys, and with all the malcontents of the States, clergy as well as laity, exulting in great force around him, he advanced through the city from beyond the Tiber to the Lateran: broke open the gates of the basilica, ascended and seated himself on the throne of the Apostle, "which," as the biographer observes, "he was not worthy so much as to touch." By his

*"Tantaque, ac talia infaustæ operationis mala peregit, qualia nec Saracen. Imagines enim confregit, ignique concremavit, et synodum, quam supra sanctuarii januas beatæ memoriæ Leo pingi Papa jusserat, destruxit Dominique Jesu Christi, ejusque semper Virginis Genetricis iconam, ad ima dejecit."—*Anast. ubi supr.*

command, the pontifical vestments were torn with violence from the person of the venerable Benedict, the true Pontiff-elect: who was then delivered as a prisoner into the hands of John and Hadrian, two presbyters as deeply immersed in crimes and censures of the Church as Anastasius himself. "The whole city was filled with mourning, all the bishops, the clergy, and the people of God, gathered round the sanctuary, striking their breasts and pouring out floods of tears in the bitterness of anguish. Prostrating themselves between the vestibule and the altar, they implored of the Divine Majesty, with his outstretched arm, to liberate them from those assaults of the powers of darkness against his Church."*

This was on the seventh feria. On the next day, which was Sunday, when the bishops, the clergy, and the faithful were celebrating the Divine office in the titular church of St. Æmiliana, the imperial ambassadors presented themselves, and rushing in a most furious manner into the sanctuary round which the bishops and clergy were seated, they drew their swords, while their followers shook their lances, crying aloud, "Give in, and elect Anastasius!" They

* "Universa Urbs ululatu, amplisque repleta est fletibus.—Omnes episcopi clerusque, ac Dei Populus, sancta sanctorum ingressi, tundentes pectora sua, profusis lacrymis intra vestibulum et altare, solo prostrati jacebant, Dei orantes majestatem, ut tanti erroris caligine sua eos victrice dextra liberaret."—*Anast. Bib. ubi supr.*

raged like lions; but, sustained by the fortitude of the Holy Ghost, the bishops and the rest of the clergy, in whom was the right of election, answered: "Never shall one deposed and in the bonds of anathema, have our votes: but such an one will we ever continue to abjure, and exclude from ecclesiastical communion."

Finding that all this menace and fury was of no avail, the envoys next resorted to the stratagem of calling the bishops separately into their presence, and in a private apartment, adjoining the church: hoping thus to prevail upon some at least amongst them, either by threats or promises, to yield. But not only were the prelates immovable in their resolve, but they fearlessly upbraided the envoys for thus trampling the sacred canons, and the interests dearest to religion, under foot. On this, the envoys began to confer amongst each other in an under-tone, and in their own language: until by degrees their ferocious excitement subsided.*

On the third feria, at the dawn, all the bishops, clergy, and people, were again assembled in the Lateran basilica. The envoys thought they saw that their endeavours were about to be crowned with success; when, from all sides, and as if with one voice,

* "Protinus vero secretius *linguam eorum confabulantes*, furor qui in eis exuberabat minuit." Latin was still the language of Rome, and of Italy generally; the envoys jabbered in the Frankish or Teutonic dialect—at that period an utterly unformed jargon.

the cry was heard, "Benedict, our truly blessed Pope, we will have to reign over us, him do we desire."

This persevering unanimity again disconcerted the envoys of the Emperor. A second time, they resorted to a conference in a less public manner with the bishops and clergy of the Sacred College of electors, in the hope of inducing them to acquiesce in something like a compromise; but to no purpose. No alternative at length remained to them but ignominiously to expel the intruder Anastasius from the Lateran palace, where, with his followers, he had taken up his quarters. The Pope elect was carried from the prison to which he had been consigned, amidst the rejoicing of the whole city, to the Lateran. There they placed him on the horse which Pope Leo used to ride, and so they proceeded with hymns and joyous canticles to the basilica of Santa Maria Majore. The three following days and nights were spent in fasting and prayer by the clergy and the people. Pope Benedict, like the father of the prodigal, received to forgiveness, and affectionately embraced those of the clergy and laity who had identified themselves with the cause of the intruder; and on the Sunday following his enthronement, his solemn consecration as Pontiff took place, according to ancient custom, in St. Peter's; but with what emotions of joy, and gratitude towards heaven, it is easier to imagine than describe. The envoys of the Emperor were amongst those who sought for reconciliation during the triduum in St. Mary Major's.

The Pope received them with the kiss of peace; and afterwards treated them with every mark of distinction.

If we have entered somewhat diffusely into the details of this transaction, perhaps the reader will not be displeased that we have done so, when we state our motive. It was to do away with every shadow of necessity, for introducing the disgusting fable of Pope Joan, even for the purpose of refuting it. The bare perusal of those details, by a writer who evidently was an eye-witness of the transactions he has recorded, must be of itself sufficient to satisfy any candid and judicious person, that the fable which would have the world believe, that, between Pope Leo IV. and this Pope Benedict III. a profligate English woman was elected, enthroned, solemnly consecrated, and lived and reigned as Pope, "during two years, a month, and four days," most richly deserves the fate it has long since met with; we do not say from Catholics, but from Protestant scholars of the greatest eminence. They reject it, and brand it as a brazen absurdity. Without wasting another word on a subject (which should raise a blush, not in Catholics, but in those who hold to a system, more than a little indebted to fictions of this description for its advancement,) and merely adding that a detailed refutation of this fable will be given in an Appendix, we hasten forward to the reign of Pope Nicholas I. one of the most striking in the history of the Papacy. One incident more, however, in

the reign of Benedict, we must first notice. It is taken from the history of Saint Gregory the Great, by John the Deacon, who was the friend of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, and flourished at the time of the occurrences which he describes.

There happened in the second year of Pope Benedict, a very disastrous inundation of the Tiber; and after the waters had receded from the city, a plague began to rage. The fauces became swollen and putrid in such as were seized by it; and it carried off its victims speedily, and in great numbers. There was in the monastery of Saint Gregory, *ad clivum Scauri* (where it flourishes at the present day), a monk named John, who was reputed to be endowed with the gift of prophecy; but so great was his humility that he was much less anxious to display than to conceal it. When he was at the point of death from the plague, Saint Gregory stood before him in a vision, and restored him on the instant to perfect health, on his promising to warn certain monks of the community, and also the prelate who presided over the monastery as abbot, at that time. "Go," said the vision, "and announce to Saba, John, Benedict, Martin, Palumbus, and Anthony, who are monks: to Laurentius the cook, to Gemosus the carpenter, to the baker Acceptus, and to the lay brothers, Andreas, Romanus, and Leo, that, commencing from to-morrow, they are to be carried off by the plague, one after another, on successive days, until they are all dead. And

when they are no more, go to Bishop Lucidus, and tell him that, it is his turn next." To the great astonishment of all, the dying monk, at the moment it was thought he was in his agony, arose and appeared at the matin-office, in his place. To the brethren who afterwards flocked around him with eager inquiries, he narrated what had happened; and those who had been designated by name forthwith began to prepare themselves for death. They died exactly as had been predicted; and then came that part of his awful charge to be performed, which to the humble monk was of the most difficult and painful nature. But much as he feared to speak his message to the bishop-abbot, he dreaded still more to be silent; and after a painful struggle he issued from his cell, and repaired to where the prelate dwelt, hard by the basilica of Saints Cyrus and John, not very far from the Tiber. Learning that he was at the palace dining with the Pope, brother John remained; and ere long Bishop Lucidus appeared, just as he had been to the palace, in his sacerdotal vestments, rubicund, and in every respect the very picture of health. The monk, who had profoundly saluted him, he accosted in a jocund manner, saying, " that already he passed in the city for a diviner, since of all those whose death he had predicted one only was still living,"—for, although the monk had not divulged the bishop's name to his brethren, he had foretold that, immediately after the death of the last of the monks, there was

one other person doomed to follow them to the grave. It was not without much difficulty, or until after some bantering from Lucidus, that at length, with expressions of sorrow, and many sighs, he told the bishop, in plain terms, that it was to himself the sentence of Saint Gregory, already verified in every other instance, allowed but six days to live. At first the prelate became pale as death, and shook from head to foot; then, as if recovering himself, he severely rebuked the monk, and had him detained when eager to return to his cloister. Then entering his chamber, he began to feel in his throat a pain that grew worse every moment. He felt his pulse—it indicated fever—he believed what the monk had told him—put his own house in order; and, still wearing the robes in which he had been to the Lateran Palace, he betook himself to the monastery which had been placed under his charge. On the second feria he put on the monastic habit—on the morning of *feria sexta*, as John the monk had forewarned him, he peacefully breathed his last.

In the same place the Deacon John describes how the brother of another monk of St. Gregory's became seized with a sort of mania, by which he was led away from all commerce with society; and seemed to have no delight but in wandering far and near in all directions among the deserted regions of the eternal city; one time entering into the solitary crypts and catacombs; at another going round about,

and seeming to lose himself in reveries, perhaps speculating as to their pristine purposes, amongst the ruins and monuments of the Pagan City; on which there had settled down, even at that far distant epoch, the venerable hoar of centuries. Being cured of this *mentis insania*, (apparently of the same type as that which fell on such other members of the great Benedictine family as Mabillon and Montfaucon, in after ages,) this antiquarian gave up at least his corporeal wanderings to enter into the same cloister with his brother. There he lived and died a model of every monastic virtue.*

Great was the resort of Saxon pilgrims to Rome in this pontificate; and the same page that tells of their coming, speaks of other pilgrims from beyond the Black Sea, and of the legates of the Patriarch of Constantinople bearing the testimonials of his homage to the feet of the supreme head of the Church. The royal father of Alfred, King Ethelwulf, died the same year as Pope Benedict III., directing in his will that every year "300 denariorum mancusas" should be sent to Rome—100 mancusas in honour of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to supply oil for all the lamps of his basilica at vespers on Easter Sunday, and also at the crowing of the cock: 100 mancusas in honour of St. Paul for the

* "Eodem tempore germanus cujusdam monachi mentis insaniam passus est, ita ut humana commercia fugiens, multo tempore pervagus, per cryptas solitarias, et cænosa monumenta discurreret." —*Johan. Diac. ap. Baron. an.* 856. *n.* 5.

same purpose; and also 100 mancusas for the universal Pope, to augment his alms."

By decree of Pope Benedict III., whenever a bishop, presbyter, deacon, or any of the clerical order, departed this life, all the rest of the clergy, the Pope himself not excepted, were to assemble to inter his body, and recommend his soul to the Divine mercy: for himself, also, he ordered that they should do in like manner when he died. Anastasius adds that this holy Pontiff was assiduous in the discharge of this office of mercy, and that his immediate successor, whose life Anastasius has written, was the heir of this as of all his other shining virtues.

Amongst the deacons by whom the body of Pope Benedict was borne to the grave, there was one, who —"beloved by the clergy, highly spoken of by the nobility, and a great favourite among the people,"* had risen higher and higher in the confidence of each successive pontiff. Sergius II., remarking him as a boy of extraordinary promise, had placed him in the Lateran Patriarchate, and in due time or-

* "Amabatur a clero, à nobilibus laudabatur, et a plebe magnificus amabatur."—In another place Anastasius tells us that Pope Nicholas was "aspectu pulcher, forma decorus, doctus in verbo, loquela humilio, actu præclarus," &c.

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dained him subdeacon. He was promoted to deaconship by Leo IV., and appointed to Saint Peter's during the last reign. He had the chief administration of affairs confided to him; and such reliance did the deceased Pontiff repose in his wisdom, and such paternal affection did he feel towards him, that he was never contented but when he was at his side.* Such, in a few words, were the antecedents of Nicholas, (son of the regionary Theodorus,) a Roman, who was next elected Pope. He reigned nine years, two months, and twenty days.

"The Emperor Hludowic," says Anastasius, "had only just taken his departure from Rome, when the sad tidings overtook him that the venerated and beloved Benedict was no more, and that all Rome was inconsolable for his loss. Forthwith, the emperor retraced his steps. The clergy, the proceres, and the optimates, being congregated together, they devoted themselves in fasting, and prayer, and holy vigils, to obtain from the Divine clemency the grace to discover some one who would be worthy to succeed such a Pontiff as they had been just deprived of. After persevering in these devout exercises for the appointed term (of three days) there was held a public assembly of all, in the

* "Suæque illum administrationi conjunxit, eo quod magis illum, quam suæ consanguinitatis dilexit, ita ut per nullius horæ momentum sine illo esse delectaretur."—*Anast. Bib. in Vit. Nicol.* i. p. 252, C. col. 2.

basilica of Saint Dionysius (at the Lateran), where all the people were convened. A few hours' conference decided all minds and hearts unanimously in favour of the Deacon Nicholas; who, on perceiving what turn things were taking, had fled to Saint Peter's and there concealed himself; protesting that he was not worthy to hold the sceptre of the Church. They followed him thither: overpowered all resistance: carried him amidst sacred acclamations to the Lateran, and placed him in the Apostolical throne. His consecration took place according to venerable custom in Saint Peter's, the Emperor Hludowic being present. The Pontiff was there enthroned in the chair of Saint Peter. Then there was the grand procession through the city—decorated—back to the Lateran, where the crown was placed upon the Pontiff's head.*

* "Coronatur denique; Urbs exultat, Clerus lætatur, Senatus, et Populi plenitudo magnifice gratulabatur."—*Anast. ubi supr.* Nicolas I, anno circiter 860, *circulum aureum civilis potestatis insigne mitræ* addidisse perhibetur; eadem tamen quæ prius erat servata mitræ figura est; mitræ quæ nunc ab episcopis adhiberi solet longe absimilis; hæc enim bigida, et duos in apices distracta; illa vero oblonga erat, et in acumen desinens; cujus usus ad Bonifacium usque VIII. a quo, *circulo aureo alter* item additus, anno 1300; cui Urbanus V, anno 1365, *tertiam etiam imposuit.*—*Cautelius, Metropol. Urbium. Hist.* par. 2. dis. 2.

"Regibus ac tyrannis imperavit, eisque ac si dominus orbis terrarum authoritate præfuit"—is said of the same Pope, *in Chron. Regin. ap. Pistor.* t. i. p. 70.

After being splendidly feasted in the triclinium of the Lateran, the Emperor took leave of his Holiness, but halted after proceeding to the fifth mile stone from Rome, and there pitched his tents.*

Tidings to this effect having been brought the Pontiff, he hastened, accompanied by all the great dignitaries and the princes, to visit the Emperor in his camp. As the Pontiff approached, the august Cæsar issued from his tent and hastened to meet him: took the rein of the horse on which the Pontiff rode, and so led him as far as a stout archer casts an arrow.† They then entered the pavilion together. There they held mutual consultation; and after being feasted, the Pope received many costly presents. The Emperor rode forth with him from the camp, when he was returning to Rome, until they came to a wide open space on the Campagna: there Illudowic dismounted, and, taking the Pope's rein, again led his horse the same distance as before. At length, after many interchanges of the warmest friendship in word and act, they mutually embraced; and Pope Nicholas re-

* Sedemque in loco qui dicitur Quintus, conclocavit.

† "Excellentissimus quem cum vidisset Augustus obvius in adventum ejus occurrit, frenumque Cæsar equi Pontificis suis manibus adprehendens pedestri more, quantum sagittæ jactus extenditur, traxit."—*Anast. Bib. ib.*

turned to the Lateran, while Hludowic pursued his march to his own capital.*

We pass over as usual the great ecclesiastical transactions of this reign, of which the scene was chiefly in the East, and take up the affair of John, archbishop of Ravenna, as it reflects considerable light on a region of the Papal States, which for some time we have not visited.

"In the meantime," says Anastasius, "many of the Ravennati came to Pope Nicholas, being sorely harassed and oppressed by John, archbishop of the same city, in order to obtain redress. The Pope lent an attentive ear to their complaints, and by repeated letters, and even by legates sent specially for that purpose, endeavoured to prevail on the prelate to put an end to such doings; but his perversity became only more obstinate and aggressive by this paternal treatment. He continued to add injustice to injustice, and crime to crime. Some he excommunicated without cause; some he would not allow to resort to the Apostolic See; he laid hands on the property of others, without any legal right; nor did he suffer the estates of the Roman Church itself to go exempt from his rapacity. The governors

* "Ad quendam cum pervenissent spatiosissimum itineris locum, imperator equo descendit, equumque Pontificis iterum, ut meminimus supra, traxit, dulcissimisque osculis ad invicem perorantes luciflue gratulati sunt."—*Anast. ib.*

and judges appointed by the Pontiff, he treated with contempt, and, so far as in him lay, made light of the glory of Saint Peter the Apostle, and cried it down. His tyrannical treatment of the clergy was not confined to the limits of his own province. In Æmilia, though immediately under the Apostolic See, he deposed the presbyters and deacons, even without the forms prescribed by the canons,—incarcerating some of them, and throwing others into fetid dungeons under ground. From others he forced by tortures the confession, *in scriptis*, of crimes of which they never had been guilty. Without the consent of the Apostolic See, he set aside the laws of the Church; when summoned to Rome, it was his boast that he was entitled by privilege not to attend a Synod; and that there might be some show of ground for this arrogance, he resorted to certain forgeries, which he inserted in the records deposited in the archives of his see.

"For his contumacious refusal to come to the holy Synod when summoned, he incurred an excommunication. On this he hastened to Pavia, and so prevailed with the Emperor that he appointed ambassadors to accompany him to Rome, in order to bring about his reconciliation with the Pope. Elated beyond expression at this mark of imperial favour, instead of humbling himself when he came to Rome, he refused to listen even to the ambassadors, (who were mildly reprimanded by his Holiness for taking part with one so loaded with the censures

of the Church,) and betaking himself to Ravenna, his conduct there became worse than ever." "And behold," continues Anastasius, "the chief men of Æmilia, and the senators of Ravenna, with multitudes of people who had groaned under his tyranny, came imploring of the Pope, with tears,—that, in imitation of our Lord Jesus Christ, he would not disregard their sufferings, but come in person to Ravenna, that after investigating the whole case, and seeing with his own eyes all they had to suffer, he might deliver them from bondage."

When John the archbishop, heard the Pope was approaching Ravenna, he set out once more for the court of Pavia. But as for Pope Nicholas, after hearing the complainants who flocked from all quarters of the Ravennate, of Æmilia, and the Pentapolis, he reinstated in their rights and possessions those who had suffered at the hands of the archbishop and his brother Gregory, and re-affirmed the acts and charters of which they had presumed to deprive his subjects.

The wayward prelate on arriving at Pavia, found every door closed against him. From Liutard the bishop, down to the lowest, all shunned him, and refused so much as to speak to him, or to hold any commerce with his attendants. And when they saw his followers in the street, they used to cry out,—"Take care, good people: there go some of the faction who are at war with the Church, and cut off from its communion. Keep clear of their com-

panionship that you may not be involved in the same censures with them."

The last hope of this infatuated man was in the Emperor; from whom the only comfort he received was this answer sent by one of the officers of the Court:—"Let him go, and putting off his arrogance and pride, humble himself to the Pontiff, to whom we and the Universal Church bow down. There is no hope for him but in submitting to the yoke of obedience and subordination."* Nevertheless, so great was this prelate's influence with the highest personages by whom Hludowic was surrounded that he again prevailed so far as to obtain that imperial ambassadors should be sent with him, thus to overawe the Pontiff, and wrest from him some salvo for his pride. But all his manœuvring and artifices were futile. They were but as spiders' webs to restrain the apostolic energy of Nicholas, who plainly informed his ambassadors, that, had the morals and the proceedings of this unfortunate prelate been as well known to his beloved son the Lord Emperor as they were to him, he would, instead of interceding in his favour, be the first to call loudly for his correction. A Synod was then assembled: the culprit was again summoned. Driven from his

* "Cui ad hæc per internuntium mandat Augustus dicens: Vadat, et fastu elationis deposito, tanto se humiliet Pontifici; cui et nos, et omnis ecclesiæ generalitas inclinatur, et obedientiæ ac subjectionis colla submittit," &c.

last shift, and thoroughly humbled, he presented himself, shedding bitter tears, imploring pity, and beseeching of the assembled prelates to make intercession for him with the Pontiff. He experienced the greatest clemency from the paternal heart of the holy Father, who was mindful, as Anastasius remarks, that the Lord "wisheth not the death of the sinner, but that he be converted and live."

"Never was there such resort from all nations to the Apostolic See," says Anastasius, "as in the times of Pope Nicholas. He became the oracle and guide of the earth—sending away, abounding in consolation and knowledge, and crowned with his blessing, the countless multitudes who resorted to him for counsel, for consolation, and the cure of their soul's maladies. And as for the abuses which were to be corrected, he overcame them not less by his austerities and prayers than by more stringent measures."* Amongst the multitudes thus drawn to Rome by the renown of Pope Nicholas, not a few of the English nation came. Anastasius makes particular mention of a table of silver, which they made an offering of in the oratory of Saint Gregory the Great that was in Saint Peter's.† At this same

* In vit. Nicol. ii. p. 258. E. col. 2, & p. 259. A. col. 1.

† "Cum multi ad sanctitatis ejus nomen accurrerent quidam de Anglorum gente Romam venerunt qui in oratorio Beati Gregorii

time, we find that the aqueduct supplying Saint Peter's having received some injury was put in a state of repair; the Pope having been moved to this chiefly through compassion for the multitudes of pilgrims, who in flocking to the *Limina Apostolorum*, were, in the summer heats especially, much distressed for water, whenever anything went wrong with the numerous reservoirs and fountains. Then follows the recital of the costly offerings he made in the various churches, especially in Saint Peter's, now re-appearing in such splendour that no one would imagine the Saracens ever had been there.

The Tiber twice overflowed its banks in the beginning of his reign, in the month of October the first time, and again in November.

In proof of the unwearying zeal, the earnestness and amenity with which Pope Nicholas discharged the duties of his sublime office, the librarian appeals to the collection of his letters,—"quas bene libratas per mundi partes direxit." His soul he placed, so to speak, upon his hands (such was his purity of intention and rectitude in all his actions). His thoughts were occupied with the interests of heaven only: he fasted: kept frequent holy vigils: meditating whole nights beside the tombs of the Apostles. So instant was he in prayer not only in the day time but by night also, that to his body he conceded scarcely sufficient rest or sleep. As his end

papæ et confessoris Christi, in Principis Apostolorum æde frascatæ constructa, unam tabulam argenteam," &c.

drew nigh, he redoubled his munificence to the temples and shrines of the city—repairing and adorning them; wherefore that he might have, even in this world, a foretaste of what heaven held in store to recompense so many virtues, there was in his times such fertility and such abundance of all good things that it quite obliterated the remembrance of past disasters. He made in one ordination; presbyters, seven; deacons, four; bishops for different countries, sixty-five. After ruling the Apostolic See as a true and ever victorious champion of the Catholic faith, he was called to his crown of glory, on the ides of November in the first indiction. The Christian nations bewailed his loss, and the very elements seemed to shed tears in torrents upon his grave, which was in the paradise in front of the basilica of St. Peter the Apostle.*

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* With the life of this Pontiff (the first who wore a crown upon the mitre) the collection of Anastatius closes. It is the only piece out of the entire which we know, for certain, to be from his own pen. This learned Cardinal was perfectly at home in the Greek language. He continued to flourish during the two succeeding Pontificates of Hadrian II. and John VIII., approving himself an accomplished, devoted, and indefatigable servant of the Apostolic See. He and Anastasius, the would-be Pope, were cousins. The two remaining lives of the Liber Pontificalis, those of Hadrian II. and Stephen V. are by Gulielmus, who was also Bibliothecarius of the holy Roman Church. He lived at the same time, if he did not belong to the same generation, with Anastasius.

Glowing are the eulogiums pronounced on this Pontiff for his munificence to the poor, for his hospitality to all. He was full of compassionate solicitude for the widow, the orphan, and for whosoever stood in need of sympathy or assistance. His biographer compared him to holy Job; and the facts which make up the history of his pontificate supply conclusive proof that this praise is nothing more than was his due. This makes us regret the more that our extracts from this reign must be but few and brief.

His education in the Lateran Patriarchate, this nursery of extraordinary men, the virtues which characterise his career under each successive Pontiff, the mode of his election, his reluctance to submit to that election; and the universal joy with which his accession was hailed,—in all these particulars the records of his biography only resemble those of so many illustrious pontiffs who had gone before him. But in a few features, it stands remarkably distinguished from all the other lives.

1°.—During the discussions which preceded the election, more than one vision was related that seemed to point out Hadrian as the elect of heaven. To one he had appeared as if seated on the Apostolic throne arrayed in the Pontifical ornaments, and celebrating mass: to others he had appeared distributing gold pieces in the Lateran, after the manner of the Popes: and many imagined they had seen him on the horse which Pope Nicholas

used to ride to St. Peter's, with the pallium on his shoulders and the august procession formed."

II°. "Great umbrage was taken by the ambassadors of Ludovic, because they had not been invited to be present at the election, but they were appeased when it was observed to them, that the honour of their presence should have been solicited had it been apprehended, lest such a precedent might give rise to discussion in after times, on the ground that custom was against the election taking place in the absence of the ambassadors."*

III°. "Such multitudes pressed forward to receive the divine communion from the Pope's own hand, at his first mass, that there were Theutgard archbishop of Treves, Zacharias bishop of Anagni, (degraded by Pope Nicholas for their crimes), and Anastasius (the anti-Pope), all of whom had for some time been allowed to receive amongst the laity, who were on this occasion unable to approach the sanctuary in order to receive."

IV°. Rome was at this time crowded with ecclesiastics of all orders from every part of the East, and with not a few of the laity also. They had come in consequence of the schism which Photius, who had wickedly intruded himself into the patriarchate of Constantinople, was endeavouring to establish in the East. By not a few of these, the

* "Ne videlicet legatos Principum, in electione Romanorum Præsulum, mos expectandi per hujusmodi fomitem inolesceret."—*Guliel. Biblioth. in vit. Hadr. II.* p. 262.

rumour having been entertained that some of the acts of the great Pope Nicholas, who had vigorously maintained the rights of the Catholic faith against the intruder, were to be cancelled, they had continued to keep aloof from his communion. The mode for disabusing them of their error adopted by Pope Hadrian was the following.

"On the sixth feria in Septuagesima," says Gulielmus, "a greater number of pilgrims than usual, all selected from these Greeks, were invited by the Pontiff to partake of a banquet, according to the ancient usage of the Popes. He humbly ministered water when they washed their hands; when they had taken their places at table, he placed the dishes on the board, served each guest with his portion, did the same with the wine-cups; and—what was not customary for the Pontiff to do—he, in order to inspire them with greater confidence, and to add to their happiness, reclined with them himself, at the feast, which was rendered more cheerful by the enchanting melody of the spiritual canticles and hymns with which they were entertained during the entire time."

When they had risen from table, the Pontiff prostrated himself before the pilgrims, and said: "I beseech and suppliantly implore of you, fathers, brethren, and beloved sons, that you pour out your prayers for the holy Catholic Church, and for our most Christian son, the august Emperor of the Romans, Ludovicus, that God Almighty may make

him the bulwark of our security against the Saracens. For me also pray, frail and miserable as I am, that Christ may grant me power to conduct in sanctity and justice the infinite multitude of his Church; which having redeemed with his blood, he entrusted to St. Peter. . Your prayers will ascend pure and unsullied in the sight of heaven, from that solitude in which your lives are devoted to Divine contemplation, whereas ours are liable to contract the soil of that world and its distractions, in the midst of which we are compelled to live." And when they exclaimed that it was his Holiness rather, first as he was in zealous labours for the Divine glory, who should pray for them; he replied, while the rolling tears betokened the emotion of his soul: "Since thanksgiving to God are the fit prayers to offer for those who are eminent in sanctity, let me entreat you to have my most holy predecessor, the orthodox Pope Nicholas, in your remembrance when your voices are joined in the praises of the Most High. Offer thanks to Him for having vouchsafed to elect such a ruler for his Church,—giving him an ægis more impenetrable than that of Joshua, and the sword of spiritual might to protect and vindicate her, against the fury and swollen arrogance of her assailants." On hearing this, these servants of God, from Jerusalem, from Antioch, from Alexandria, and from Constantinople, (some of them the ambassadors of princes,) were all seized with holy ecstacies of wonder. They broke forth in loud and repeated thanksgiving to

God for giving such a ruler to the Church; one worthy to succeed to such a Pope as Nicholas the great and holy: not an apostate building upon sand, but a true Pontiff firmly established on the rock that can never fall. "Let envy now hide its head," they cried, "and let lying rumour be put to flight." Then there were acclamations from all sides thrice repeated, "Long live our lord Hadrian, by decree of God, Pontiff supreme, and universal Pope!" The Pontiff waved for silence with his hand, and then gave this acclamation, also thrice repeated, "To the most reverend, most holy, and orthodox lord Nicholas, supreme Pontiff, by decree of God, and universal Pope, eternal memory!" "To the new Helias, eternal life!"—Repeated thrice. "The unfading honour of the priesthood to him, who like another Phineas, chastised the profane!"—Repeated thrice. "Grace to his followers, and the peace of God!"—Thrice was this last of the acclamations made to reverberate along the lackered roofs of the great triclinium—the hall of the banquet where this scene, so singular and so characteristic of that remote and happy age, took place.

V°. At a moment when Rome was full of nothing but the rejoicings and festivities attendant on the consecration of this Pontiff—the gates lying wide open to receive the pilgrims and strangers who passed through them in crowds, not only from all parts of Italy, but of the whole Roman

world—when there was no thought of an attack from any quarter, much less from those who were bound to act not as enemies but as protectors, the Duke of Spoleti, Lambert son of Winto, rode into the city, with an immense troop of his satellites and retainers. Dispersing in bands, they forthwith began to conduct themselves as if they had taken the place by storm from the hands of an open enemy. All was abandoned to pillage—the monasteries and churches being as little spared as the palaces of the nobility. The latter were made the scenes of every most brutal outrage.

The biographer of Hadrian then goes on to tell of the chastisements and the universal execration which this unheard-of atrocity brought down on its authors; for the Duke of Spoleti was seconded not alone by the lower order of his followers. The names of some of his accomplices, high in rank, we shall meet with further on. Lambert forfeited his duchy. He became an object of scorn; was shunned and detested by those of his own order everywhere; and was put under the ban of the empire as an enemy of the Apostolic see. As for the other chiefs, Aistaldus or Austaldus, Walterius, Hilprianus, Odo, and Teopertus, with the other ravagers and plunderers, the Pontiff cut them off from all ecclesiastical communion until such time as restitution and full reparation should be made by them. Teopertus gave up his share of the plunder without delay and willingly. Aistaldus, also, a man devoted to God, and distin-

guished for bravery in war, came with great marks of sorrow, gave himself up to the Pontiff, who, with the consent of the Romans, forgave him. He would have been even allowed ere long to communion; but having been again inveigled by the Lambert outlaws, he took the choice of flying to Beneventum—whither it is probable that Lambert had previously retired.*

VI°. King Lothair having taken a dislike to Thiutberga, his lawful queen, conceived the design of divorcing her and espousing Waldrada, one of his concubines. The queen was accused of a detestable incest. This she not only denied, at first, but purged herself from the accusation by the ordeal of boiling water; under the influence, however, of fear and persecution she was led to confess herself guilty. The bishops of Lorraine held three Synods at Aix-la-Chapelle on this subject, by the king's order. At the first meeting in the month of January, 860, they decreed that the king could not retain as his spouse one stained by so abominable a crime; in the second, held in February of the same year, as the queen had at that juncture made her forced confession, she was condemned to public penance

* "Aistaldus vero vir Deo devotus, belloque fortissimus, ad præsulem, se percutientem tota humilitate conversus est, ejusque gratia secundum omne Romanorum libitum, satisfacturus accipiens; spem quoque resumendæ communionis accepit. Quam nimirum recipere prævaluisset, nisi conjurationi Lambertorum postea conscius, cum viris excommunicatis, ac rebellibus fugiens, Beneventum petere maluisset."—*Guliel. Bib. ubi supr.*

(to blast her reputation and rob her of all sympathy). Finally, in the month of April 862, at the remonstrance of the king, that being no longer permitted to regard Thiutberga as his wife, and not being disposed to live in celibacy, he ought to be permitted to contract a second marriage, they assented to his wishes; pretending to ground their decree on sundry passages from the Canons and Fathers of the Church, and upon the words of St. Paul, "Melius est nubere quam uri."

Rohrbacher says St. Adon, archbishop of Vienne, was the first to bring this matter under the notice of Pope Nicholas, but only in general terms; praying to be informed whether a man, after contracting and living in marriage with one, could during the lifetime of the first take another wife, or live with a concubine: supposing him to have ascertained that his wife before marriage had fallen into a certain crime, which is stated? His 59th Epistle contains Pope Nicholas's answer, in the negative. But it appears that the matter was first, formally, submitted to the holy see by the brothers of the injured queen. Thiutberga also, on her own part, implored the Pope's protection. On the other hand, ambassadors were sent by Lothair to prove to the holy father, (not that Thiutberga had been convicted of incest), but that his marriage with that princess, the daughter of Count Boson, was posterior to one, which, with consent of his father, he had contracted with Waldrada.

The Pope ordered a Council to be convened at

Metz, and sent thither his legates, with instructions to the following effect: to inform themselves with exactness if it were true or not, that king Lothair had espoused Waldrada with the ordinary ceremonies in presence of witnesses, after having assigned her a dowry; and if afterwards the said Waldrada had passed for his legitimate wife in the estimation of the public? Should it appear that he had *not* so contracted marriage with Waldrada—to wit, by the benediction of the priest—the pretence of his having been intimidated, by his father's threats, to attempt a second marriage afterwards with Thiutberga was to be set aside, and the king compelled to reconcile himself with the latter as his legitimate spouse, on the supposition that she was innocent. This injured princess had made three successive appeals to the holy see, in each of which she protested her innocence. The confession of guilt she had subscribed had been forced from her by the fear of being put to death, and in the hope of thus escaping the hands of her persecutors. The legates were charged to have Thiutberga present during the examination of the cause, and in case the forced confession was insisted on, to have the whole matter investigated *de novo* according to the rules of equity, taking care that she should not be made the victim of injustice.*

As the bishops of Lorraine were justly suspected as having already compromised themselves, the Pope gave orders that those of the three neighbouring

* See Labbe, t. 8. p. 482.

realms of France, Germany, and Provence, should come to the Synod, and with this view addressed letters to the Emperor Ludovic II. and Charles the Bald. But the legates, (of whom Rodoald who had prevaricated at Constantinople was one,) allowed themselves to be won over by Lothair. The Pope's letters were suppressed; none but prelates of Lorraine were summoned; and the proceedings of Aix-la-Chapelle were confirmed. To keep up some show of respect, Gonthier, archbishop of Cologne, and Theutgard, archbishop of Treves, were deputed to present themselves before Pope Nicholas to justify the course pursued by the bishops of Lorraine. They were received by the Pontiff with his wonted amenity; but, having been convicted, even according to their own avowal, of egregious malversation in the cause of the divorce, as well as of other breaches of the Canons of the Church, they were deposed and all that had been done in their Synod declared of no force.*

Instead of submitting, the two prelates betook themselves to the Emperor Ludovic, then at Beneventum, and so exasperated him against the Pope that he marched his army towards Rome, threatening vengeance against the Pontiff, should he refuse

* "C'est ainsi, disent les annales contemporaines des Francs, que ces prelats méritent d'être traités d'hommes de folle mémoire, pour avoir cru tromper, par quelque faux dogme, la chaire de Pierre qui n'a jamais trompé personne, et qu'aucune hérésie n'a jamais pu tromper."—*An. Met.* A. D. 864, *ap. Rohrbacher*, L. 57. p. 203.

to reinstate them.* They also sent a most insulting protest to the Pope against his sentence, and a circular letter to all the bishops of the West, requesting their sympathy, and that they would hold what the Pope had done against them as of no effect. Thus, for defending the laws of the Gospel and the outraged innocence of the sex, the Pope had roused the fury of so many of the powerful of this world against him.

The Franks, on arriving at Rome, were guilty of the most scandalous and tyrannical outrages. Even religious processions were attacked and dispersed. The English of the Burgh gave proof of their zeal and firmness on the side of St. Peter in this emergency; during which the Pontiff continued night and day in prayer at the tomb of St. Peter, without tasting food or any sustenance.

Gonthier and Theutgard even sent letters to Photius full of all sorts of vile calumnies and insults against Pope Nicholas (probably a copy of the paper which Hildrim, brother of Gonthier, cast on the tomb of St. Peter), and entreated him to communicate this document to all the churches. Thus it is that a schism in the West, the offspring of the adulterous passion of Lothair, seeks for support from a schism in the East, the offspring of a horrid incest.† This proceeding of the two archbishops

* Ann. Met. et Bertin.

† Cæsar Bardas lived publicly with the wife of his own son (as Herod had done with the wife of his brother). It was because S. Ignatius like another Baptist reproved him, that he had him expelled and intruded Photius in his stead: hence the schism of the East.

shews how much the Pope was in the right, and how deplorably they allowed themselves to be blinded by their excited passions.

Theutgard of Treves on his return into Lorraine, abstained from all functions of his order, but not so with Gonthier of Cologne. But even Lothair refused to hear his mass, and urged the other prelates to depose him. So enraged at this, was the deposed archbishop, that taking with him whatever remained of the church treasures, he returned to Rome, and laid bare before the eyes of Pope Nicholas all the artifices to which King Lothair and himself had resorted, in order to deceive him in the case of the divorce. How distinctly the leaven of the barbarian character—headlong and inconstant—is to be traced in all these proceedings.

The prelates who allowed themselves to be influenced by the king, and by Gonthier his accomplice, now hastened to acknowledge their error. Adventius of Metz was one of the most earnest in seeking pardon from the Holy See, and in moving his brother bishops to do the same. In his letter, after a high eulogy on the zeal and firmness of the holy father, he says: "It would be the crowning of my wishes, did not my infirmities prevent it, to visit the tombs of the holy Apostles and present myself before your fraternity; but since my pains, and the infirmities of old age will not suffer me to undertake the journey, I recommend myself to you who hold the place of God; and to move you to mercy, I lay before

you the reasons which may help to excuse my faults."*

In the Pope's reply, it is held: 1st, that obedience is due to no king but one who has a right to require it. 2nd, that this obedience must be limited to such things as are not contrary to the law of God; and that what is, or is not, contrary to the law of God is to be decided by the Popes and the Synods. Fleury bitterly attacks the Pope for these principles, most rashly asserting that they are contrary to what St. Peter taught. Even Lothair admits these positions;† they are the principles of the Gospel.

Lothair also wrote submissive letters. Another legate, Arsenius bishop of Orta, was sent beyond the Alps. Lothair consented to take back the queen; but soon relapsing, he sent after Waldrada, who was on her way to Rome, and by this aggravation of his past disorders, brought upon his concubine the sentence of excommunication, and a refusal on the part of the Pope to hear from him any more, or consent to his coming to Rome.

After sending the most solemn assurances to Pope Hadrian II. that he had faithfully complied with all that his saintly predecessor Nicholas I. had required of him, this unhappy prince came to Rome, A.D. 868, and was received with all the honour due to royalty. To the inquiries of the Pontiff as to whether he had faithfully observed all the conditions

* Labbe, t. 8. p. 482. † Ap. Labbe, ib. p. 741.

to which he had bound himself by oath in the time of Pope Nicholas, there was no kind of assurance or protestation that he did not give, that every condition had been scrupulously complied with. "And when the courtiers and nobles who were with the king," says Regino, "all bore witness to the same effect, and that no voice or appeal of any sort to the contrary was heard, Pope Hadrian said: 'If what is thus solemnly affirmed be sustained by truth, we praise the Almighty, and with great joy return Him thanks that it is so. Wherefore, beloved son, it now only remains for thee to come to the confession of St. Peter. There, with God's blessing, we will offer up the all-saving victim for your benefit, both in soul and body. It will be necessary for you to communicate with us, in that sacrifice; that by thus partaking of the body of Christ you may be restored as a living member to his Church, after being so long separated from it.'

"Mass having been celebrated," continues Regino, "the Pontiff invited Lothair to approach the table of the Lord; and raising with his hands the body and blood of the Lord, he thus addressed him: 'If your conscience feels guiltless of the adultery from which by interdict of Pope Nicholas you were prohibited, and that your purpose is firm and sincere, never again to return to intercourse with the harlot Waldrada: approach with humble confidence, and for the remission of thy sins, receive the sacrament of eternal life. But if thy conscience upbraid thee,

and proclaim to thee that thy soul is still pierced with the mortal wound, or that there lurks about thee the intent of returning to wallow once more in the sink of impurity, presume not to receive: lest that become for thee a cause of judgment and damnation, which Divine providence has prepared as a means of redemption for the faithful.'"

"Infatuated as he was obdurate and blind—without retracting the guilt of which he was but too conscious, the king received from the Pontiff's hand the body and blood of the Lord. The dread sentence: "it is horrible to fall into the hands of the living God," did not deter him; nor that other: "whosoever eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself."

"Then turning to the courtiers and followers of Lothair, the Pontiff presented to each of them the communion with these words: 'If to your lord and king Lothair, you have not been giving aid, favour, or consent, in the adultery of which he stood accused, and that you have not held communion with Waldrada and the others involved in the censures of the Apostolic see: may the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ profit thee unto everlasting life.'"

Regino goes on to tell how this awful sacrilege of Lothair and his accomplices was overtaken by a terrific and speedy judgment. The king and his court in returning from Rome were struck with a loathsome plague; and none but the few who had

abstained from communion escaped.*—So great was the mortality, that it was as if the sword had mowed down in some disastrous invasion the chivalry and the nobility of the whole of Lorrain; which up to that time had flourished in the greatest prosperity. Aimonius says that Lothair, before he fell himself, saw his courtiers and nobles dead in heaps—coacervatim. This was at Lucca. He pressed forward towards his own realm: but at Placentia, on the 8th of the ides of August, the plague seized him about the ninth hour on the Lord's day. It took him suddenly like a fainting fit; then his body became swollen; the mortification put an end to him at the second hour of the morning following. The few who were left of all that proud host, with which so recently he had marched through Italy, took his body, and, in some obscure little monastery in the neighbourhood of Piacenza, consigned it to the earth.†

* "Perpauci, qui se a communione subtraxerunt, vix mortis periculum evaserunt."—Regino lived in the times of which he writes.

† "A paucis suorum, qui a clade remanserant, in quodam monasteriolo secus ipsam civitatem, terræ mandatur."—*Aimonius*, l. 5. c. 21. *Ap. Baron. an.* 868. p. 50. In this affair of Lothair and Waldrada, which had such a tragical conclusion, we find the most eminent writers, Protestants as well as Catholics, expressing their admiration of the conduct of the Popes. See De Maistre. Du Pape, p. 267 and 274: also Dunham, Religious and Intel. Hist. of Europe in the Middle Ages, &c. v. 2. p. 62—167. Even Voltaire confesses that, had it not been for their apostolic courage and wisdom in repressing such abuses in the mighty ones of those semi-barbarous times, the pestilent curse of polygamy would not have been confined to the East.

CHAPTER V.

It has been at all periods the privilege of Italy, above every other country, to recover, with singular rapidity, from the worst and most protracted ravages of war. Even after the awful scenes of havoc and misery described by Procopius in his history of the Gothic war, in which several millions of people are said to have perished, we learn from Saint Gregory the Great, that, with such speed did the country recover, and so did it swarm, ere long, with inhabitants, that, to illustrate how thickly they had grown up both in the cities and in the country, he could compare them to nothing but a crop of corn, springing up in luxuriant abundance.* The same recuperative energy as to her soil and people has been remarked on more than one occasion, as equally characteristic of Italy in modern times.

Were we left solely depending, therefore, upon inductive evidence, it would suffice to warrant the conclusion, that, at the point of our history, at which we have now arrived, the Papal States—as to the flourishing condition of the country, and the security, contentment, and prosperity, enjoyed by their

* "Hominum genus, quod in hac terra, præ nimia multitudine quasi spissæ segetis more surrexerat, &c."—*Dialog.* l. 3. c. 38.

inhabitants—must have presented a glowing picture of happiness. But we are not left to conjecture in this matter: the sober documents of the period have tinted the picture, in which the peace and felicity of the land are set before us, with a colouring more bright, than would probably have suggested itself to the warmest fancy.

"At that time," says the Chronicle of Vulturnum, in speaking of the period in question—"few were the fortress-castles in those regions; but, scattered in all directions over the face of the land, were to be seen innumerable villas and churches. Nor was there any fear or apprehension of war; for peace, the most profound, and security reigned everywhere to the great felicity of the Italians, until the time of the Saracens."

Such authorities as Muratori and Sigonius coincide in, and confirm, this view.

Under the year 776, Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ, says: "Thenceforward, for many years (nearly 100) was Italy unmolested by arms."* Great prosperity and happiness must have been the result.

Indeed the Italians are represented by the same writer as elated beyond measure at the new order of things. All thoughts were turned to the arts of peace, to the repairing and beautifying of the cities, and the introduction of order and security, instead of the incessant reign of confusion and violence

* "Quita inde ab armis, per multos annos, Italia fuit."

which had been so happily brought to an end. Even exactions for the maintenance of troops on the march, and of the judges and Missi Dominici on their circuits were all brought under rule and method. The outbreak of the Roman faction of Paschal and Campulus, under Leo III., is assigned to the pride of heart, so naturally engendered by prosperity.*

In following the successive reigns of the Pontiffs, we have met, on more than one occasion, with notices of the peace and prosperity of the times—the fertility with which the earth was favoured—the abundance of all good things which crowned the people with blessings.

"Better days and lasting tranquillity were the lot of Italy," says Muratori, in speaking of this period; "from whence," he continues, "we may well imagine that the population was rapidly multiplied, for such is the usual result of peace."†

Of the fact, therefore, there cannot be any shadow of doubt, that the States and the Papal city must have been at this time in the enjoyment of those advantages, which the unusually protracted peace, that had lasted now close on a hundred years, could not fail to bring with it.

Over these scenes, however, of tranquillity, of

* "Romani luxuria diffluentes," &c.—*Sigon.* An. 781. p. 166, 167. Ib. 187. p. 169. Ib. an. 798. p. 173.

† Dis. 21. p. 251.

lively faith, of devotedness to religion, and of general felicity, there already begins to lour a reverse the most terrible. All this enchanting spectacle of order, happiness, and virtue, is to be almost suddenly subverted, to make room for a chaos of suffering, and outrage, and of every species of heinous disorders, such as seldom, if ever indeed before or since, has disfigured the pages of history. The object of the present chapter is to bring together from writings of that age, such sketches, anecdotes, and characteristic incidents, as will enable the reader to look on the subject from several distinct points of view; and thus to form for himself a much more satisfactory conception, it is probable, of the aspect presented by the States during that century, than could be suggested by the most elaborate essay on the subject.

From the following description extracted from the History of the Lombards, by Paul the Deacon, — sometimes called Warnefrid — who flourished during the opening of this happy period, "a golden age" when compared with the times immediately preceding, or with those by which it was to be followed, — we perceive that the ancient Roman division of Italy and the Italian islands, into eighteen departments or provinces, was still retained in his times; though everything like central authority or uniformity of administration had ceased to exist,

ever since the Peninsula had dropped from the impotent hands of the Greek Cæsars.

The north, as far as the "confines of St. Peter"—*fines Sancti Petri*—at that time nearly the same as at present, was under the sway of the Frank princes; to the south of the Papal States, the Lombard dukes or princes of Beneventum, (possessed of nearly the whole territory forming the modern kingdom of Naples) paid a homage little better than nominal to the Frank kings or emperors, who reigned in Pavia. The Byzantine Emperors held Sicily and some sea-ports and districts around the coasts to the south and east. Naples, Gaeta, Salerno, and Amalfi, with some others, seem to have been free cities.

The 1st province, according to Warnefrid, was Venetia—consisting, not of a few islets—*quas nunc Venetias dicimus*—but extending from the border of Pannonia to the Adda. Istria was a part of it. Its capital was Aquileia, *formerly*;—at present, he says, "it is Forum Julii-Ficuli, pro qua *nunc* Forum Julii, so called because Julius Cæsar made it a market town." Liguria is the 2nd province—a legendis leguminibus, quorum satis ferax est. In it, were Milan and Ticinus, alio nomine Papia.—It extends to the confines of Gaul, with the Suavia of the Alamanni, *i. e.* Rhetia, on the north. The 5th province, or Cottian Alps—a Cottio rege, qui tempore Neronis fuit—bounded by Liguria to the north, by Gaul to the west. In it were *Aquis*, ubi aquæ

calidæ sunt (*Aix* in Provence), Dertona; the monastery of Bobium, Genua, and Saona. 6th province, *Tuscia,—a thure,* offered by its superstitious inhabitants, in by-gone times, to their idols—habet intra se Circium versus Aureliam : Umbria to the east. In this province is Rome. In Umbria are Perusia, the Lacus Clitorius, and Spoletum. Umbria dicta quod imbribus superfuerat, quum aquosa clades olim populos devastaret. 7th province, Campania —(from Rome to the Siler, a river of Lucania, also called Brutia)—"in which are the most opulent cities, Capua, Naples, and Salerno." It was mountainous. 8th province, Lucania,—a Silere fluvio inchoat cum Brutia—it extended to the pharo of Sicily along the shore of the Tyrrhenian. In it are "Pestum et Lanius, Cassianum et Consentia, et Rhegium." 9th province, called in Appenninis Alpibus. Beginning at the Cottian Alps, these mountains run through the middle of the Peninsula, separating Tuscany from Æmilia, Umbria from Flaminia. In it are the cities, Ferronianus et Montepellium, Bobium et Urbinum, also an oppidum called Verona. 10th province, Æmilia, from Liguria extends between the Apennines and the Po towards Ravenna. Decorated with rich cities, Placentia, Parma, Regio, Bononia, Cornelii-Forum cujus castrum Imolas appellatur. 11th province, Flaminia — between the Pennine-Alps and the Adriatic—in which are the most noble city of Ravenna, and five other cities called by the Greek

name Pentapolis. Next to Flaminia, is Picenus, the 12th province, with the Apennines to the south, and the Adriatic on the other bound. It extends to the river Piscarium, far below the Tronto in Abruzzo. Its cities are Firmus, Asculus et Pinnis; et vetustate consumpta Adria.* There was another Adria beyond the Po.

13th province, Valeria, with Nursia annexed: between Umbria, Campania, and Picenum, with Samnium on the east. On the west it begins from Rome; cities Tibur, Carseolis, Reate, Furcona, Amiternum, the region of the Marsi, and the lake Fucinus. 14th, Samnium, between Campania, the Adriatic, and Apulia, from the river Piscaria; cities Theate, Aufidena, Isernia—et antiquitate consumta Samnium. Of these provinces, Beneventum the wealthy is the capital—et harum provinciarum caput ditissima Beneventus.

15th province, Apulia with Calabria, within which is the region Salentina. To the west, it has Samnium et Lucaniam, to the east the Adriatic. Its opulent cities are Luceria, Sepontum, Canusium, Agerentiam, Brundysium et Tarentum; and in the left horn of Italy—50 miles long—Hydruntum Aptam mercemoniis.† 16th province, Sicily. 17th, Corsica. 18th, Sardinia. Liguria, part of Venetia,

* Hujus habitatores cum a Sabinis illuc properarent, in eorum Vexillo picus consedit, atque hac de causa Picenus nomen accessit.

† Apulia vero a perditione nominatur: citius enim ibi solis fervoribus terræ virentia perduntur.

Æmilia, and Flaminia, formed, in Roman times, cis-Alpine Gaul.*

The Ostrogoths had their share of the soil of which these were the ancient divisions; so, no doubt, had their predecessors in invasion, that is to say, the medley of barbarian free-bands, which, on one account or another, remained behind in the peninsula after the various nations of invaders, such as the Alemanni, the Visigoths, the Vandals, Huns, Herulians, and a host of others, had been either repulsed from thence, or, of their own accord, retreated. We find Odoacer, for instance, partitioning amongst these bands of daring adventurers, a third part of the whole country; and, no doubt, not its least fertile or most difficult to be defended portions. But the Lombards, in the main, and their confederates the Saxons and Avars, were the race, not only in the ascendant as to arms; but that by which the lands were, for the most part, possessed—a vast proportion being kept under forest, for the sports of the chase; or under grass for their flocks, and still more for their improved breeds of cattle and horses. In the latter especially, they greatly delighted.

The Lombard dukes of Friuli, Spoleti, Tuscany, and Beneventum, were left in possession by Charlemagne. He only required from them the oath of allegiance and the payment of an annual tribute.

* Paulus Diacon. de Gestis Longobardor. l. 2. cap. 14—22.

It is not to be supposed that the golden opportunities, with which their conquest of the Lombards and a century of military domination supplied them, were altogether neglected by the Franks. Pavia was long the seat of their empire; and the rich plains from the Alps to the Apennines and the "confines of St. Peter" afforded a range sufficiently ample for the gratification of ambition and cupidity the most insatiable. It is certain that they established themselves in many a rich and pleasant site in upper Tuscany—that is, in the Grand Duchy of the present day. Charlemagne is said to have founded or rebuilt Florence. The Marchesi, military governors of provinces, and the Conti who were military chiefs of cities, were Franks, at least at the outset. Within the Papal States, the duchy of Spoleti, and what was called Lombard Tuscany, (the country from Radicofani to the Tiber), were the only provinces where the Lombards took root. Some isolated chieftains might be found scattered widely asunder in all parts of the States; more especially, perhaps, in Æmilia. What is here said, even in this latter instance of the Lombards, cannot at all be applied to the Franks, except in regard of the Duchy of Spoleti: where some few military chiefs with their followers, established there for the service of the marches, became ultimately identified with the native inhabitants. The latter, as we have already stated, and proved, were, in the main, the descendants of the free nations by whom the soil was held and

highly cultivated, before they were crushed by the aggressive and intolerant policy of the ancient Romans.

There was a strong colony of Jews in Rome, from the earliest times: Cassiodorus mentions them.* Those of Milan, Genoa, and other places had their privileges confirmed by Theodoric.† They were the great slave-dealers of those ages: and as they and the Saracens, who mostly supplied such merchandise, were united in interests, we find they did not budge from Sicily when it was conquered by the Saracens, but, on the contrary, flourished there under their sway for 200 years. The same was the case in Spain; in Luni, *Terracina*, and Naples, they had great establishments, in the times of St. Gregory VII.

The external aspect of nature in that land—famed as it is for the unrivalled diversity and brilliancy of its charms— was not more remarkable for striking and sudden contrasts and picturesque effects, than was the costume of the diverse races of people who had pitched their tents upon its soil. With the Romanze populations, the fashions which had prevailed when the empire of the Cæsars was in its greatest majesty had changed but little. As it was with their laws so was it with their national dress,

* Ep. 37. l. 5. † Ib.

each nation—the Ostrogoth, the Hun, the Lombard, the Roman, and the Greek—retained its own. How majestic were the garments of the Romans—the gens togata—is known to every one. As for the Barbarians, they differed as remarkably from each other as do the armies of different powers at the present day. All were alike distinguished by a certain military air. The colours were brilliant, strongly contrasted: the ornaments—whether of the warrior's person, of his arms, or of his war-horse—were, usually, of the most costly and solid, but invariably of the most showy, description.

The Ostrogoths were little inferior to the Greeks themselves, in elegance of the exterior;* but, withal, for dress, the palm would appear to have been borne away in those remote ages, as well as in modern times, by the Franks.

According to Agathias they dressed splendidly. Whoever wishes to be satisfied of this can look into Chateaubriand's Studies of History: he will find there—the exact reference, not having the work before us, we cannot give—the description of a Frank warrior drawn to the life by the pen of some ancient chronicler. They, like the Barbarians generally, were given to the chase, in which they excelled. Charlemagne was passionately addicted to this noble pastime. In those ages it was very much akin to war. Ludovicus Pius ordered that no free Italian should be deprived of his sword, *or his hawk*, even for debt

* *Vid.* Murator. Dissertat. t. 1. p. 296.

—"excepto ancipitre et spata."* Laws were most stringent regarding stray hawks, falcons, or hounds. All the Barbarians had an inbred passion for war and warlike exercises—archery, casting the spear, darts: managing the shield, the steed, and the like. The task of the Church, which stood alone for peace, we who live in a civilized age can form no even proximate notion of.

A barbaric gorgeousness seems to have characterised the dress and appointments of all classes of the free. Ulpian writes: *Vestimentorum sunt omnia lanea, lineaque, vel serica vel bombacina: i. e.* of garments, some are of wool, some of linen, some of silk, and some of cotton. This rule survived the empire. The notices in Anastasius shew how splendid and diversified were the vestments, and other sacred ornaments which were used within the temple. Blatta (a worm), or Blattin, was a kind of vermilion in great request in those times. It is the opinion of many that the colour was so called because extracted from a certain species of worm. Muratori doubts this. Brocades, also, or lamadoro, tissues of gold, silver, and silk, were in use: also *pictæ vestes*, that is, embroidered robes—what in Italy are still called *ricamati*. Velum *acupictile*, a veil painted with the needle—*stragula*, or party-coloured garments are spoken of in Anastasius. Beasts and birds were represented on these garments to the life. The Anglo-Saxons were renowned for

* Ib. p. 307.

the proficiency of the females in needle-work and weaving: the men in the other arts. Women, "acu et omni textura, egregie: men, in omni artificio." That commerce was frequent with Greece is evinced by the terms *chrysiclava, velum holosericum, de Basilixi, fundatum alithinum, &c.:* with Syria, Persia, Egypt, &c. *Vela Tyria Byzantea, pannus Alexandrinus, &c.:* with Spain—*Vela de Spanico.* Terracina would seem to have taken the lead of Ostia as an emporium of foreign commerce. All through the tenth and eleventh centuries it is evidently a place of great importance. The Monk of San Gall's says ambassadors were sent by Charlemagne to the King of Persia with presents—mules and horses of Spain: cloaks made in Frisia—white, grey, scarlet, and saffron—things which he had learned were prized as great rarities in that country. "Regi Persarum qui deferrent equos et mulos Hispanos palliaque Frisionica, alba, cana, vermiculata, vel saphyrina, quæ in illis partibus rara, et multum cara comperit." The same writer recounts a joke played off on his courtiers by Charlemagne, which throws great light on the customs and costumes of the times. The Emperor went a hunting one day in a sheep-skin pelisse; and so unexpectedly, that the courtiers had to follow him in all their finery of the most brilliant, and most costly sort, which they had purchased from the Venetian merchants, who used to import from beyond the seas all the treasures and richest wares of the Orientals—de transmarinis partibus

omnes Orientalium divitias. Returned in the evening from the toils and accidents of the chase, the sheepskin pelisse of the Emperor was no worse than when he rode forth in the morning; but the silk cloaks, and finery of the courtiers were in tatters, and soiled with mire; so that Charlemagne had the laugh at them for their effeminacy and folly, in prizing such gaudy frippery, and in squandering such sums upon them to the merchants.

The Lombard costume was seen in the historical fasti, with which Queen Theodolind had the church of San Giovanni Battista at Monza adorned.* They wore loose garments of linen (like the Orientals),

* After describing the costume of his ancestors, as represented in these pictures, the Lombard Warnefrid, of the 9th century, remarks how much both in the cut of the beard and of the garments the fashions had changed. The Lombards had fallen more into their Roman modes. They adopted their long riding-boots, he says.

Queen Theodolind had a palace also, which she built, adorned with paintings, representing the exploits of the Lombards. In which picture, says Warnefrid, (L. 4. p. 23.) we see the fashion in which the Lombards of that period wore the hair, and how they were attired. He then proceeds to describe these fashions thus: "Si quidem cervicem usque ad occipitium radentes nudabant, capillas a facie usque ad os dimissos habentes, quos in utramque partem in frontis discrimine dividebant. Vestimenta vero eis erant laxa et maximè linea, qualia Angli-Saxones habere solent, ornata institis latioribus, vario colore contextis. Calcei vero eis erant usque ad summum pollicem penè aperti, et alternatim laqueis corrigiarum retenti. Postea vero cæperunt hosis uti, super quas equitantes, tubrugos birreos mittebant. Sed hoc de Romanorum consuetudine traxerunt."

vestimenta vero eis laxa et linea, &c. None but the free were allowed to wear beards. Slaves had both the beard and the hair of the head shaved off. It is not easy to say in what the Roman and Lombard tonsure differed: but differ they did—as did also the Roman and Lombard costume. The Romans seem to have clipped or shaved the chin. Of the Franks, it is certain they wore the moustache only. The Greeks were proud of a fine flowing beard, as are all the Orientals of the present day. From the Frank conquest, *long* beards ceased in Italy. The clergy all, without exception, as the *servi* Domini—slaves of the Lord, went shaved and tonsured, S. Greg. vii. Ep. 10. L. 8, says: "*quemadmodum totius occidentalis ecclesiæ clerus ab ipsis fidei Christianæ primordiis barbam radendi moram tenuit*," &c. Muratori doubts that the rule was *universal*. In a very ancient picture, St. Benedict is represented with a round beard and moustache. In the 9th century, and after, the Latins were impeached by the Greek clergy, because they wore not the beard—*perché non usavano la barba*.

All these nations, in a word, were *regimented* as to costume: and even as to the cut of the hair and of the beard. The ambassadors of the Greek Emperor are said to have brought to Arichiso duke of Benevento, with a gala-dress woven of gold and a scymetar, a comb, and a pair of scissors, of which Arichiso promises to make use, as a token of homage. "Vestes auro textas, simul et Spatam, vel pectinem,

et forcipes, sicut ille prædictus Arichisus indui et tonderi pollicitus est."*

Friuli, Spoleti, Tuscany, and Beneventum, as has been observed already, were the four great Lombard duchies. The Duke of Benevuntum, at a late period of the Empire, took the title of *Prince*, to shew he was not subject to the Carlovingians. The rulers of Capua and Salerno, of later origin, were also *Princes*, *i. e.* Sovereigns. Though those of Naples only called themselves dukes, masters of the forces, or consuls, they were nevertheless sovereign princes. They were sometimes chosen by the people; at other times they got their authority from the Greek emperor. Not unlike theirs was the position of the doge of Venice, at first. Marchesi and Conti were also princes. These were the *judices* of the Lombards. The former were appointed over provinces, the latter over cities. They, the dukes, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, were the primores or principes regni.

The court officers of the 8th century amongst the Lombards were: Majordomus, Strator—in the Lombard tongue *Marpahis*, an equerry or groom; a high office. Kings and Emperors acted always as the Pope's *strator*, or *marphis*, on meeting him, or in parting with him, when abroad and on horseback; see, for instance, Liutprand with Pope Zachary, and the Emperor Ludovic II. with

* Hadrian I. in Ep. 88. ad Carol. M.

Nicholas I. Pincernæ were cup-bearers: Vestiarii, chamberlains. *Comes-Stabuli*, same as *Contestabile*, became synonymous with marshal, in process of time. *Dapifer* was another state officer; so was *Senéscalchis*—same as the *Architriclinus* of the Greeks. He was the head butler. *Princeps coquorum* we may style Count of the kitchen. The Byzantine office of *Silenziario* existed also with the Franks. The silenziario was either a privy-councillor, or a crier who enforced silence,—no sinecure in assemblies of semi-barbarians. *Consiliarii* and *Vassi* were titles: the latter the same as *Vassalli*. In the court of the princes of Benevento mention is made of *Comitis palatii*, *Protospatarii*, *Gastaldii*, *Tapoteriti*, *Portarii*, *Thesaurarii*, *Referendarii*, *Actionarii*, *Vestiarii*, *Vestararii*. *Vicedomini*, *Pincernæ*, *Basilici*, *Candidati*, *Stratigi*, ed altri.* *Gasindii* were the same as *Cortigiani*—freedmen. *Deliziosi*, favourites, *in sensu honesto*.

Slaves were never to go abroad without a *badge* signum, *quamvis deliciosus*. Dukes, Gastaldi, Vicars, Centenarii, Falconers, Huntsmen,—Judges have assessors called *juniores*. The *Scario* was a slave-driver, "*in primis fuit scario per servos, super alios servos sancti Vincentii.*"†

Muratori thinks that there were mercenaries for garrison service, *Hostis* and *Exercitus* the same.

* Muratori Dissert. 4to. p. 291. † Chron. Vult.

Armies were formed of vassals; slaves were *allowed* by the Visigoths to serve; seldom by the Lombards. They were armed only with *zaris* vel *loricis*, breast armour; *plerosque vero sentis, spatis, scramis* (long swords), *lanceis, sagittisque; etiam fundarum instrumentis, vel ceteris armis*,—that is with bucklers, swords, two-handed swords, lances, bows, slings, and other light arms. Muratori doubts that the Franks ever allowed slaves to serve as soldiers.

Among the Lombards the rage for duelling was incorrigible. The Gothic custom was to fight on horseback: the Frank fashion to fight on foot (in duels). Charlemagne commanded to use only clubs.*

However it arose, whether from the *crusades* of Carl Martel and of his successors in the great struggle for the cross against the Moors and Pagans: or from that admiration and passion, inbred in the barbarian nature, for the pursuits of war; too true it is, that under the Carlovingians, the bishops and clergy were all held rigorously to military service. The Popes left nothing undone to have this abuse reformed; Muratori quotes an edict of Charlemagne, in which, *Apostolicæ sedis hortatu*, he grants exemption from war-service to the clergy. He also quotes a letter to Charlemagne from Saint Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia, in which the Saint exhorts him "*ut liceat Domini sacerdotibus militare in solis castris dominicis*—to leave the clergy to garrison the camp of Christ, and fight

* Muratori, ub. supr. p. 497—498.

His battles only. A petition from the laity to the same effect is quoted, *Ne episcopi, deinceps, sicut hactenus vexentur hostibus* (by hostings, raising and marshalling their forces) *sed quando nos in hostem pergimus, ipsi propriis resideant in parochiis.* Thus it was, both by the church and the laity, regarded as a great hardship that the bishops and clergy were forced to the wars. But notwithstanding the decree of Charlemagne, we find under his sons and grandsons, the bishops and clergy still constrained to "*hoste.*" "*Si episcopus absque manifesta infirmitate remanserit, pro tali negligentia ita emendetur, &c.*" is a constitution of Ludovic II. But this was after the struggles against the Saracens had commenced again. Such were strictly defensive crusades.

The author of the life of Ludovicus Pius, in narrating how he took Tortosa, says: "*Quo perveniens Ludovicus Pius, adeo illam arietibus, mangonibus, vineis, et ceteris instrumentis lacesserit, et protrivit muralibus, ut cives illius a spe deciderent.*" This mangan or mangone cast stones with the force almost of a cannon. We find Pope Gregory IV. causing similar engines to be placed on the walls of Ostia, to defend the city against the attacks of the Saracens. A general had under him *millenarii* (commanders of 1000). Centenarii were the same as centurions. The townsfolk were led by their Counts or Gastaldi; Vexilliferi, or Signiferi, were called *Alfieri.*

The Barbarians, one and all, were averse to be cooped up in cities; they were passionately given to hunting, and athletic sports. Their places of residence continued to go by the name of, and really were but, villas, until the next age: when their castles, as we shall have occasion to show, begin to appear in all strong positions. At this time they dwelt in the midst of great plenty—attending to the order of the marches, if there were Marchiones; to the order of the cities, if there were Counts; if Dukes to their duchies. Or they passed their time, when not with the court, or on a pilgrimage, or at a great festival, in hunting, in attending to their kennels, their falconries, the breed and condition and training of their studs; or they looked after seneschals and other officers of their household; and to the tribute paid by the coloni, or serf-farmers of their vast possessions. Of this serf class consisted, in great part, if not altogether, the country folk by whom the soil was cultivated, and the flocks and herds tended. But they all had property, and certain rights. They were very numerous even on the monastic estates.

On the estates of the three abbeys, which had been given to the famous Alcuin by his royal pupil Charlemagne, they amounted to 30,000. Thus, under the year 872, in this same Chronicle of Vulturnum, we meet a certain Abbot of Valeria, complaining that an immense multitude of slaves—maxima multitudo—had artfully withdrawn them-

selves from the villa Tritensi, and the monastery lands of St. Peter, without paying their yearly tribute—vectigal. Close after there is—"Breve de servis nostris"—a roll of these coloni, or slave-farmers, who had withdrawn from some of the estates of the monastery of Vulturnum. It occupies two columns and a half on a large folio page. These people, though well off as to creature comforts, and not harshly treated, (especially on the monastic estates), did not cease, and very justly and naturally, to sigh for liberty. Hence, we find them during the scenes of devastation upon which we are shortly to enter, on being assured of their LIBERTY, not hesitating to lend assistance to the infidel Saracens. Such is the exasperation that bondage, even in its least aggravated forms, hardly ever fails to engender in the breasts of its victims; and which, by a just judgment, must ever render the position of the oppressor insecure.

There was another appendage of the petty courts of the nobles, over which religion has to blush and weep.

"Such," says the high-principled Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, in the times of Louis le Debonnaire, "Such is the disgrace of our times—a disgrace to be deplored with the whole fountain of our tears—that there is scarcely one to be found who aspires to any degree of honour or temporal distinction who has not his domestic priest; and this not that he may obey him, but that he may

command his obedience alike in things lawful and things unlawful; in things human and things divine: so that these chaplains are constantly to be found serving the tables, mixing the strained wine, leading out the dogs, managing the ladies palfries, or looking after the lands."

The ancient agricultural writers of Rome, divided their subject into three branches. The first and most profitable was the grazing of cattle, sheep, and goats: the next, which was peculiar to those times, consisted in the feeding of certain small animals for the shambles; and the third and least lucrative was the tillage of the ground, including both field-husbandry and the cultivation of gardens and orchards. As we have already observed, the mediæval —and with much greater reason the Carlovingian epoch—differed but little from the Roman era, in rustic economy; so that the above is a picture of the times now under view.

"The ancient grazing, when pursued on a large scale," says Spalding, "was exceedingly like that of modern Italy, most of the animals were pastured during the winter on the sheltered grounds of the plains, and shifted for the summer to the woody sides of the Apennine. Sheep and goats were by far the most common, and were kept for the sake of their wool and hair; for linen—long unknown in Italy—was little used for clothing till late in the empire."*

* Italy and the Italian Islands, &c.

In the making of wines, so far as the securing that flavour which would have inspired the muse of Horace, they are more likely to have degenerated during the barbarian times than in any other branch. With the plough, they handed down, from generation to generation, the other instruments and modes of husbandry, as they are celebrated in the Georgics of Virgil. Their dwellings, too—those of the coloni at least—until driven for refuge to walled places, and the roccas, (as we shall see hereafter), were not very unlike the farm-villa of the ancient Roman. Attached to each of these there was usually a bakery, *furnum*; also a kitchen for cooking, *pistrina*; two fish-ponds, one for the water-fowl, and where the cattle might refresh themselves: another for steeping lupins, vine-roots, rods, and washing vegetables, &c.; two sterquilinia for gathering manure; an area, or open space for treading out (with cattle and young horses), and winnowing, the corn. The best kind were flagged, because the grain was thus free from pebbles and dust. There was a cover for it called a *nubilarium*, to protect it in case of showers. The orchard was best situated where the sewerage of the baths, &c. discharged itself: the fruit was greatly served by this.

For the rest, the corn-fields in summer were waving in the Tramontane breeze, or ripening visibly in the torrid rays: the flowers were blooming wild, and as lovely and sweetly, where no eye but His who praised the lily beheld them, as around the

villa of the noble, the rustic dwelling, or in the paradiso of the church or round the cloister. On the hill sides, the olive and the vine held possession of the same situations they enjoyed when Horace sauntered round his Sabine farm, or as when Varro and Columella descanted with classic elegance on the economy of country life. The water-wheels of the mill aroused the echoes of the surrounding woods and of the streams, from the mass of the dawn to the Ave Maria at the close of day: then, Philomel was there to cheer the night. The homesteads of the coloni were still unchanged. The pulse garden supplied its tribute: so did the stream, the pasture, the forest, and the field. The poplar and the elm sustained the trellissed vine: the rose diffused its fragrance: the oak, the ilex, and the platanus lent their shade. In those ages also, the vine-dresser's song, and the shepherd's flute were heard. Rest was made more pleasant by the toil which had gone before it. The mornings were as bright, the noon-tide as sultry or as serene, as when Tytirus sung his eclogs. The sun-sets were not a whit less suffused with celestial loveliness, because there was as yet no Byron to daguerrotype them in his verses; no Claude Lorraine to transfer them to the canvass.

Having in a former chapter pointed out how variously and immensely bettered was the condition of the coloni, or serf-farmers, under the Pontiffs, especially from what it had been under either the

empire or the republic in Pagan times, we next turn from the country regions to the cities and towns.

"Cities," says Muratori, "were garnished with bastions, a wall, an ante-murale, with gates, posterns; to each gate belonged a drawbridge."*

The ante-murale and barbacan were the same—an outwork to protect the towers, gates, and walls: it seems sometimes at least to have consisted of a foss and lower wall not far removed from the chief wall. Another species of outwork was the *Carbonaria*, but neither Du Cange nor Muratori can determine what it was—apparently it was a pit-fall, or some trap for an advancing enemy.†

But in the happy times of which we are now speaking, the cities and towns, if not inhabited without walls, had little need for such defences, as we have seen in the instances of Horta and Ameria. They are not the only ones that could be quoted in proof of this. Of course it was in the towns and cities that the arts as then cultivated, the various trades and handicrafts, with the traffic to which they gave rise, were found to flourish most.

"Of the arts," says Muratori, "some are for

* "Le città erano guernite de' bastioni, mura, antemurale, torri, porte, e posterle cioè di piccole porte; e di cataratte—ora le Saracinesche."

† Dissertaz. t. 1. p. 417.

man's necessities, others are for his comfort; a third class are for his delight. As for the first class, altogether, and several of the second also, it is a thing certain, that, at no period (from the overthrow of the empire) did they lapse into desuetude in Italy: wherefore, it is superfluous to inquire if, in those barbaric times, there were bakers, shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths, masons, barbers, weavers, workers in gold, in earthenware, and the like."*

That nearly all, if not all, the fine arts were cultivated under the patronage and munificent encouragement of the Pontiffs, (some of them with eminent success), during the last quarter of the eighth and the entire of the ninth century, the passages we have had occasion to quote from the lives of the Popes in Anastasius afford abundant evidence. Such proofs could be multiplied from the same source without end: we content ourselves with adding one more to those already given. It is, if we mistake not, the first recorded instance of stained glass being used in church windows, or used at all. The passage occurs in the life of Pope Benedict III., who, about the year 865, we are told, had the tribune of St. Mary's in Trastevere, rebuilt in an improved style, and the windows of the same basilica adorned with stained glass, and pictures in mosaic.†

The following, though but one city of the Papal

* Dissertazione 24. p. 346.

† "Fenestras vero vitreis coloribus, et pictura musivi decoravit."—*Anast. Bib. in vit. Bened. III.*

States is referred to in it, may probably in many respects be taken as a sample of what the others were with regard to the regimenting of the inhabitants.

Agnello, who wrote about the year 840, in speaking of an insurrection of the Ravignani against the Greeks in the eighth century, says the people were regimented as follows by Giorgio son of Giovannoccio, and that the same order was kept up in his own day. What is said of Ravenna will give us a clearer idea of Rome, where a more perfect marshalling of the population prevailed, and where orderly exercise in the processions was frequent.

"Giorgio divided the people into eleven bands. The twelfth, that of the Church, is reserved. (This means, either, *held in reserve* to guard the Church, or, which is most probable, that the clergy formed a body exempt from military service.) Let each soldier march according to his company and number, that is: Ravenna, band the 1st, band the 3nd, band 9th: the Unconquered: Constantinopolitan: Firmanus: Lætus: band of Milan: band of Verona: band of Classis, (a quarter of Ravenna): the Pontifical bands with the clergy, the dignitaries, their attendants, with the equerries and other dependants of the Church." This reads like the order of the day, for the particular occasion referred to.*

* "Divisit populum in undecim partes. Duodecima vero pars ecclesiæ est reservata. Unusquisque miles secundum suam militiam et numerum incidat. Id est Ravenna, bandus (banner, gonfalon, pennon), primus, bandus secundus, bandus novus, invictus,

The same ancient writer, in his life of Damian, archbishop of Ravenna, says of the females of that city, that so affected were they on one occasion by a sermon, that they cast away their finery, their trinkets and ornaments, of which he gives this list: —*mutatorias vestes et pallia, inaures* et *annulos*, et *dextralia*, et *perselidas*, et *monilia*, et *olfactoria*, et *acus*, et *specula*, et *lumulas*, (or *lunulas*), et *liliola præsidia*, et *laudosias*, &c. A belle, even of the present day, would hardly despise such a toilette. The ring was given in espousals. On such occasions, spouses annoyed, in returning from church, by Troctingi or Joculatores, mummers or jugglers, are under protection of their Mundualdi, *i. e.* of fathers, brothers, husbands. Morgincap or money-gift, was a third or fourth part of all moveable or immoveable property. The marriage of a free woman with a slave was severely interdicted.

All kinds of skins, from those of the sheep and goat to those of the ermine, were in great repute as garments. Soldiers and chiefs were prohibited by Ludovic the Germanic from wearing silk, silver, or gold ornaments.*

Constantinopolitanus, Firmans, Lætus, Mediolanensis, Veronensis, Classensis, Partes pontificis cum clericis, cum honore dignis, et familia, et stratoribus, vel aliis subjacentibus ecclesiis: et hæc ordinatio, permanet usque in præsentem diem." Ravenna then was divided into 12 *numeri*, legions, cohorts, or regiments.

* Murat. Dissert. t. i. p. 382. Ib. Dis. 20. p. 237. Ib. 239, p. 245.

"Duke Alzeco coming with his followers from Bulgaria offered his services to King Grimoald. He sent him to Romoald, his son, who had succeeded himself in the dukedom of Benevento, directing him to provide Alzeco and his followers with lands to inhabit. They were welcomed by Duke Romoald and settled in a spacious country, which had up to that time been a desert—viz. Sepianum, Bovianum, and Isernia, besides other cities with their territories —directing that Alzeco instead of Duke, should get for the future only the title of Gastaldius. The same districts," continues Warnefrid, "are to the present day inhabited by these foreigners, who, though they speak Latin, have by no means lost the use of their own language." "Qui usque hodie in hiis, ut diximus, locis habitantes, *quanquam et* LATINE *loquantur, linguæ tamen propriæ usum minime amiserunt.*"*

A very interesting passage is this. It shews that, after so many invasions, and the settlement there for ages of Barbarians of every race, the Roman was everywhere, (even in the south, and in contact with the Greeks), the prevailing language. The two languages were common in Naples. We have seen the Frank ambassadors after disputing with the Roman clergy, begin to confer with one another in their own language, in order to conceal from the Romans the plans they were concocting.

* De Gestis Longobardor. L. 5. 29. This passage seems not to have been observed by Muratori.

In the treaty between the Carlovingian princes, after the fatal battle of Fontenay, we have a sample of the Romanze dialect, as it was spoken towards the middle of the ninth century. Any one knowing Italian, could understand it. Still it is during the terrific disorders and darkness of the tenth century, that Latin ceased to be in Italy, and more especially in the Papal States and in Rome, the language of the people. The first authentic allusion to the vulgar tongue of the Italians, as not being identical with that of the ancient Romans, occurs in the Pontificate of Gregory V. We are told it was customary with him to give instruction to the people in three languages — the Frankish, the Vulgar, and the Latin.* This Pontiff died the 18th of February, A. D. 999.

* "Pauperibus dives, per singula Sabbata vestes
Divisit numero cautus Apostolico.
Usus Francigena, Vulgari, voce Latina
Instituit populos eloquio triplici."

Vid. *Baron. Ann.*

CHAPTER VI.

NEXT to the cities and towns, the most conspicuous and ornamental feature of the scenery were the great monasteries. They make such a figure in this century of almost unexampled happiness, that it would be unpardonable to pass them over unnoticed, or even not to place them in the foreground of anything pretending to be a tableau of the age. They were, in truth, the garrisons where the restraining power was recognized as residing. It is the reflexion of the historian of Modern England that "had not such retreats been scattered here and there, European society would have consisted of merely beasts of burden and beasts of prey." The monk did more than Count or Marquis for the security of the merchant travelling with his wares, and of the pilgrim who was on his way to the *limina apostolorum.* They had model farms in which the agricultural sciences, as they had been carried by the ancients to the highest perfection, were preserved. Architecture, music, literature: in short, whatever of art, or learning, had survived the wreck of the ancient civilization, was equally indebted to these institutions. They were the great centres of moral and intellectual culture: the

hope and succour of the oppressed and afflicted: a refuge for innocence or repentance, from a world full of reverses, and of the wildest passions. There the heavenly praises were chanted night and day; the divine writings were transcribed, and studied, and expounded; nay, what was even better, they were illustrated in living examples of the highest evangelical perfection. Their gates were ever open to the wayfarer and the homeless: they were the caterers of the poor: the guardians of the orphan. The weak and the wretched looked to them with confidence and love; they were objects of reverential fear, for those who felt themselves so mighty as to be afraid of nothing else on earth. To them it was owing that the sun of civilization did not set, for ever. The progenitors of the now most polished and mighty nations of the world were but little removed from the savage state, when the gentle disciples of St. Benedict took them by the hand, assuaged their ferocity, enlightened and sanctified their benighted minds; and beguiled them into the paths of Christian progress.

In each monastery were held higher and lower schools. They were open to the children and youth of all classes—whether servile or free. Indeed, it was the duty of the monastic communities, and of the canons regular, not merely to receive such pupils as offered themselves: they were to seek

them out in their own districts: to gather them for instruction, and to form their manners—teaching them at the same time the arts of reading, computation, grammar, to commit the Psalms to memory, and to sing them, according to the Gregorian chant, in like manner as the church canticles and hymns.* Similar schools were attached to the residence of each bishop. In each of these monasteries, says Mabillon, there was a scholasticus, or head of the schools, who was versed not only in the divine Scriptures but also in secular literature—in litteris sæcularibus—that is, in mathematics, astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, music, rhetoric, poetry—et in ceteris omnibus. And whenever an abbot could not find a monk qualified for this office in his own community, it was not considered any discredit to procure one from some other monastery. It was from this it arose that many Irish ecclesiastics, visiting the continent, were placed over some of the most celebrated of the cloistral and other schools.† Through

* "Ut canonici et monachi non solum servilis conditionis infantes, sed etiam ingenuorum filios aggregarent sibique sociarent, fierentque apud eos scholæ legentium puerorum, ut hi psalmos, notas, cantus, compotum, grammaticam, per singula monasteria vel episcopia, discerent."—*Ann. Bened. Mabil.*

† The monasteries, according to Trithemius, most famous for their schools were:—Fuldense, S. Galli, Angiense, Hersfeldense, Hirsaugiense, S. Albani Moguntinense, Corbeiense, Prumiense, Mediolacense, S. Dionysii Parisiense, S. Maximi Trevirense, Remense, Altisiodorense, Turonense, Stabulense et Weisburgense. To these Mabillon adds: Anianense, Floriacense, Parisiense S.

the researches and industry of the monks each of the greater monasteries was provided with a numerous collection of books. Of St. Benedict of Aniene, Mabillon says: "librorum *multitudinem* congregavit." In a work against Elipand of Toledo, by a holy Spanish abbot, it is observed regarding the scholars educated in the cloisters: some of them are offered by their parents (like Samuel of old) to be educated for the priesthood and the service of Christ: others are sent for sake of their education—to learn to read, to be grounded well in Christian doctrine and piety, that afterwards they may enter with the benediction of the Church into the married state, and live in an edifying manner.*

We shall see that, even when things were at the worst in the 10th century, the work of transcribing and multiplying manuscripts still went on.

In the great monasteries the choirs were generally divided into three companies or *turmæ*, as they are termed, consisting each of 100 monks and 25 boys or youths (either in the novitiate or attending the cloister schools) by whom the Divine praises were

Germani, Ferrariense, Gorziense, Insulæ Barbaræ, S. Michaelis Virodunense, Fontanellense, Sithicense: apud Natos Casinense, Ticinense, et *Alia complura.*

* "Ex ipsis baptizatis alii traduntur Scholæ et offeruntur a parentibus Christo, ut possunt futuri esse sacerdotes, et serviant Christo. Alii tantum doctrinæ traduntur, ut legant et cognoscant Christum, et accipiant cum benedictione intra ecclesiam uxores et serviant conjugio."—*Ap. Mabill. Ann. Bened.*

celebrated without cessation, after the example of the celestial choirs, who proclaim "unceasingly with one voice, Holy, holy," &c.*

"In these times," says Leo Ostiensis, "it was customary for all the monks of the surrounding country to assemble here (on Monte Casino) under their respective superiors on the eve of the kalends of September, to listen to the instructions of the abbot as to what they were to do, what to avoid, what to correct, and how to comport themselves with reverence in the Divine presence, so as to live in conformity with the rule of our blessed founder. On the day following, the entire monastic body was reviewed, the registries and rolls were adjusted, the superiors appointed, and each monk received his *obedientia*—credential letter for the monastery in which it was allotted for him to reside—the monasteries being classed by provinces."†

The secular clergy also held conferences every month.‡

In all monastic institutions, as elsewhere, the use of the bath was a matter of rule in those ages and for a long period after.§ It would be easy to multiply proofs of this—not a few of them from the lives

* Ubi supr. Præf. p. cix. † Ib. Pr. cix. sæc. iv. par. 11.

‡ See Fleury on the times of Hincmar.

§ "Sacris altaribus hanc servabat reverentiam, priusquam sempturus iret Christi Eucharistiam, etiamsi esset hiems aquas glacie perstringens ut aquis perfunderetur," &c. Some took the bath only before Christmas and Easter, while others abstained from it through a penitential feeling.

of the earlier Irish saints, as well as from those of the continent.

The monastery of Nonantula in Æmilia, not far from Modena, was founded about the year 752, and its church consecrated by command—per jussionem—of Stephen universal Pope. The place was a wilderness, when Anselmus the founder, and his companions first settled there. "But," says the Chronicle, "in the long run, by labouring with their own hands, the venerable Anselmus and his monks reclaimed it, from being overrun with thickets, and in a desert state, to the highest perfection of cultivation and improvement."* In chapter the 5th, after praising Anselm for his virtues, the Chronicle goes on to say: "Amongst his many other good works, in his love of hospitality, and the great solicitude he had for the poor, he established several hospices to receive distressed wayfarers and pilgrims, and Xenodochia for the shelter and support of orphans, the infirm, and the sick. One of these he erected at the *oraculum*, an oratory of St. Ambrose, about four miles from the monastery, which was difficult of approach, that there the sickly, the maimed, and females who could not approach the cloister, might be taken care of, and attended to, both as to their corporal and spiritual necessities."

In a neighbouring part called Susonia, he erected

* "Ven. Anselmus suique monachi propriis manibus laborantes, de sentibus et de deserto ad perfectionis culmen perduxerunt."—*C. 2. Chron. ap. Du Chesne.*

another *oraculum* of St. Justin Martyr, wherein he stationed a number of monks that they might be there serving God, and living without solicitude. There also, every day, the poor were fed, and all wayfarers were provided for. On the kalends of each month, 200 poor were feasted, and every year 300 masses were celebrated for the benefit of the living and the dead.*

After describing the cloistral church of St. Vincent of Vulturnum, adorned with a portico in front, with colonnades of marble pillars within—it was 36 paces long—the Chronicle of Vulturnum describes how it was dedicated by Pope Leo III., in the year 808, and how the Queen of Ludovicus Pius, who was also present, made an offering of rich curtains for festooning the colonnades and aisles. Over the portico was an inscription in gilt letters telling how the church had been erected by the Abbot Josue and his monks:—

> Quæque vides hospes, pendentia celsa vel ima,
> Vir Domini Josue struxit cum fratribus unà.

The Chronicler adds that, "returning through Rome, the pious prince and his queen laid the foundations of monasteries and churches in various parts, and richly endowed them."† A.D. 810, Grimwald

* "Missæl vero pro salute vivorum et mortuorum per singulum ann. 300 celebrabantur."

† "Diversas ecclesias multis in locis construens, prædia delegit."—*Chron. Vulturn.*

of Beneventum, grants to St. Vincent of Vulturnum "the court—curtem—which is ours in the territory of Venafro—territorio Benefrano—with its arable lands and mountains." The brothers Adelferius and Modelfrid, in the name of the Lord—having in mind the day of death and the reward of eternal life—give to the monastery of St. Vincent, which is seated on the river Vulturnus, in the confines of Samnium, "our noble estates—inclitas terras nostras,—which belong to us in the place called Tracta in territory of Benafro, and which is bounded by the river Vulturnus on one side, on another by the mountain torrent, called Ravennola. On the third side it has the rocks, on the fourth, Reagine. And with the estate we grant to the said monastery the slaves, male—servos—and female—ancillas—that are on it; whose names are as follow—Benafranulus —so called, no doubt, after the estate—with Agathula, his wife. Turbulus with his wife Mainola, with their sons, and daughters, and grand-children."*

The famous monastery of Farfa was situate in the Crustumian mountains on a little river of the same name. It was about forty miles from Rome, and next to Nonantula was considered one of the richest in Italy. A certain St. Lawrence—Syrus

* Observe the barbarian names of the lords of the soil, and the Roman names of the adstricti glebæ, who were for the most part, as we have so often remarked, the ancient *coloni*.

sive Latinus—was its founder. It was reduced by the Lombards, A.D. 568, to a heap of ruins—a fate which was shared by nearly all the other monasteries of Italy. In 681, it was restored.

The author of the Chronicle, a monk of Farfa, was son of the Count of Catino, and a great collector of the rent-rolls of the monastery, and of the cartularies connected with its history. He flourished in the age of Leo Marsicanus, who died Cardinal-archbishop of Ostia, and has left us the enchanting chronicle of Monte Casino, continued by Peter the Deacon, another monk of that famous place. But the monk of Farfa fell immeasurably short of his great contemporary in the chronicle he has left us. His name was Gregory. The Chronicle he dedicates to Beraldo the Abbot, who died A. D. 1089, and where Gregory left off, "because dimness of sight disabled him from prosecuting his task,"—it was taken up by his kinsman and brother monk Thodinus, and by him carried down to A.D. 1100.

According to Ludovicus Jacobillus in his history of the Bishops of Spoleti, there were proofs above all suspicion, indeed the Chronicle of Farfa would go a great way to shew it—that in those times there belonged to Farfa 683 subordinate monasteries, two cities, viz. Civita Vecchia, with its port, and Alatri; five castaldates, or seignorial districts; 132 castles, that is, strong fortresses, with a numerous population within the precinct of each; 16 towns—*oppida;*

7 harbours; its salt works were 8 in number; its villas 82, hamlets 315. Besides a great many lakes abounding in fish, there belonged to this single parent house of the Benedictines, seigneury of meadow and pasture lands without end, of tillage farms an enormous quantity—*immanem copiam*; and 82 mills for grinding corn and making flour. The following is from the pen of Abbot Hugo:—

"For a long series of years there flourished in the monastery and its dependencies, the most strict and edifying observance of the religious life; the brethren making progress in every virtue of their state from day to day; rich in heavenly graces as in earthly substance. And so it went on from the expulsion of the Lombards as long as the empire of the Franks endured in Italy: for the Franks very strenuously defended the poor and the oppressed, upheld and exalted the churches of God, and maintained the reign of law and justice everywhere."

The Chronicle Sti. Clementis Casauriensis sive Piscariensis Abbatiæ, is the work of Johannis Bernardi, a monk of Pescaria itself, undertaken by precept of his abbot Leo, about the year 1182. On the bronze doors of the church; which, with the monastery, was erected in the time of the Emperor Ludovic II., and still existing when Mabillon (or Muratori, we forget which) paid a visit to the place

the entire history of the foundation of the monastery by Ludovic II., and the dedication of the church as described in the Chronicle, was to be seen very curiously and finely represented in relievo: as any one may see by inspecting (ap. Muratori) the engraving of it given by D'Achery. The emperor, counts, and knights, wear the Roman toga: the vestments and mitres of the prelates are more in the modern than lower mediæval shape. The Pope and his assisting bishops wear copes. St. Nicholas, one of the patrons, is represented in a dalmatic, as is St. Clement also: both hold books of the Gospels on the left arm; and St. Clement wears a stole over his left shoulder. The mitres, in this instance, are low, as on the old Norman monuments. The crozier of the Pope is of the modern form. The habit of the monks is precisely the same as at the present day—the hood being turned over the head. The crown worn by Ludovic is a mural crown—his hair flows in ringlets on his shoulders; his sceptre is a long staff headed with a fleur-de-lis.

In order to secure for this monastery, which he greatly loved and cherished, a befitting patron, the Emperor, with much solicitude, consults his bishops, nobles, and priests; and, by one of the bishops, is advised to select St. Clement, whose body having been not long before discovered in the East, was by a philosopher named Constantine brought to this city—Rome—where this consultation took

place. Whereupon, as a recompense for all his warlike toils against the Saracens, those adversaries of God and St. Peter, the pious emperor asks for this body of St. Clement, and not for gold or silver, or castles or cities.* Pope Hadrian II. refers the Emperor to the clergy and the Romans, against whose wishes, he says, he could not resign such a precious treasure. But the Cardinals, as representing both orders, giving consent, the body of the glorious martyr of Christ is delivered over to the Emperor. He had it deposited in a most precious sarcophagus of alabaster, which he had made expressly to receive it. Prayers and holy vigils having been observed for some days in the church where the sarcophagus with the relics were reposed; they were then borne forth from the city with hymns and canticles, the Pontiff officiating in the procession for some distance beyond the walls: and so they came to Pescaria with such a multitude accompanying them from all parts of the Roman world, that it might be likened to the sands of the sea.† Over the community, which consisted for the most part of noblemen who had forsaken the world, an abbot named Romanus was placed. He was a mirror of goodness and innocence of life—upright, learned in

* "Nalo in præsenti remunerationem, non aurum, non argentum, non castella, non civitates, sed illum qui propter Dominum in marinos demersus est gurgites; ut mihi Deus clemens efficiatur, Clementem requiro."— *In Chron.*

† "Ab universo Orbe Romano, ut arenæ maris posset æquari." —*Ib.*

the liberal sciences, and a wall of brass against the wrong-doer for all who threw themselves under his protection.* The Church was then consecrated with great solemnity—the great altar, to the Blessed and Undivided Trinity, under the invocation of St. Clement: the altar to the right of it, in honour of all the Apostles: that to the left to St. Benedict. In the crypt which was underneath these altars were three others—the middle one dedicated in honour of the blessed Mary Mother of God, our Lord Jesus Christ: that to the right to St. Blasius: that to the left to St. Nicholas.

Amongst the virtues by which abbot Romanus and his monks were adorned, that of gratitude towards their imperial benefactor shone refulgent. "On hearing of his death," says the chronicler, "with such tears and sighs of affection did Romanus bemoan his loss: so many masses did he offer, so many prayers did he recite: such were the crowds of the hungry that he fed, of the naked that he clad, that it would look as if he expected to bring him back to life—so many and great were the mercies he practised, the charities he dispensed for his soul's sake: and not only was it in those days," adds the fervent and grateful Bernard, "that devoted-

* "Præfecit abbatem Romanum nomine, virum honestum moribus, liberali scientia eruditum, et quasi quoddam speculum bonitatis et innocentiæ: qui omnibus erat respicientibus ad se quasi murus inexpugnabilis."—*Ib.*

ness thus overflowing was cherished towards the memory of Ludovic, the pious king, the victorious emperor; but so shall it be for ever, while one stone of the monastery of Pescaria remains upon another, or one monk is left alive within its walls."*

From the Chronicon Novaliciense, written by a Benedictine monk about the year 1058, we place a few extracts before the reader, on account of the quaint and distinct imagery they recall from the obscurity of the remote age we are treating of,—an age which it is customary to set down as in a great measure an historic blank. It is from the 1st chapter of the 2nd book we quote:—

"In ancient times," says the Chronicler, "while yet a vigorous sway was exercised over the entire abbacy round about, by the parent monastery of Nova Lux, it was customary for the abbot, for the sake of closer and less distracted converse with heaven, to dwell with a few of the most advanced in years of the fathers hard by the church of our Lord and Saviour, at some distance from the rest of the

* "Tanto ardore memoriam ejus fecit, tot lachrymas pro eo fudit: tot pauperes et nudos vestivit et pavit, ac si eum ab inferis suis beneficiis crederet se posse revocari: et non solum in illis diebus, verum etiam usque in sempiternum memoria Ludovici sanctissimi. regis, et victoriocissimi Imperatoris, in Monasterio Piscariensi non derelinquetur, dum lapis erit ibi super lapidem, et aliquis in eo vivus inveniatur."

brethren. The latter being too numerous to find room in any one abode, had little cells apart in which they dwelt, dispersed on all sides in the neighbourhood of the churches; and from these little huts, except when prevented by the extreme infirmity of age—they assembled at the appointed hours for refection and the chapter duties. This was the rule for the old men. The younger monks, (they were very numerous,) abode under the strictest discipline within the cloister. The valley itself was charming to behold, and alive in every part with the monks, each silently engaged at his allotted occupation. None moved about but those whom we call the deans,—decanos—whose office it was to commune with the brethren as they were at work, and to aid and console them in any spiritual trial. At the hour of tierce all assembled. The psalms resounded: the Scriptures, according to custom, were recited; and the prayers being concluded, and all seated in silence, one whom they call father began to make a discourse. Now no one looked towards another, or caused the least sound to interrupt the stillness while he spake; but adown their cheeks, the big tears would be seen to trickle, and sometimes there was audible a sob of contrition from some heart too full of emotion to be repressed.

"But when he would turn to discourse of the kingdom of Christ, of the beatitude to come, and of that glory which is not to be described, you would see them all—every sigh being hushed—their eyes

with seraphic ardour raised towards heaven,—each exclaiming within himself, 'Who will give me wings like the dove, that I may fly and be at rest!'

"After this the council would be dissolved, and at the hour for refection, each company of ten—decuria—with its head, called parens, proceeded to table, at which they took it in turns to minister, week about. There, up to the hour for vespers, they held devout colloquies. If any one suffered, he was comforted; if another made great progress in divine lore, he was cheered on to study. At night they attended, each separately in his own cell, to the holy vigils and prayers; and if any one was observed not to be on the alert, by those whose office it was to make the rounds, it was with the greatest mildness, and rather by entreaty than reproof, he was corrected. But if any one began to pine with illness, he was conducted to a more airy and cheerful apartment, and there surrounded by everything to cure, and alleviate, and solace, as if he were under a tender mother's care amidst all the delights of a city. On the Lord's day they rested, except from prayer and study. Indeed, of every other day, the same might be said, after the task of manual labour, which was slight, was ended—completis opusculis. Each day some portion of sacred Scripture was learned by heart. All the good that was done in the monastery no tongue could tell, for there flourished hospitality, chastity, glowing charity, open-handed almsgiving,

and prayer to God without cessation, for the living and the dead."*

In order to perpetuate the remembrance of all that he had given "to his heir the blessed Peter, as well in the city, as in the whole valley," the founder and first abbot of Nova Lux, the patrician Abbo, caused to be erected, "of the whitest marble and different kinds of stones," an arch, as it were, of triumph, just where the highway passed through the city walls; and, on both fronts of it, he had inscriptions set up recording and enumerating in detail the above-mentioned donation: that all travellers, pilgrims, merchants, or of whatsoever order they might be, in passing from Italy into Gaul, might have this record before their eyes, inscribed there upon the arch, and that the same might be the case with those coming from Gaul into Italy. Nay, in order to prevent any future litigation about the property and privileges of the monastery, he caused similar inscriptions to be erected throughout all the villages and hamlets—vicos et curtes—on the abbey estates.

"There were at that time all subject to Nova Lux a great many monasteries, to wit, in France, in Burgundy, in Italy, and in Gaul; besides several in other provinces. In Rome also there were two, and two in Ingleheim."

* "In illo etenim hospitalitas vigebat, castitas redolebat, caritas relucebat, eleemosynorum largitio, oratio assidua Deo exhibebatur, tam pro vivis, quam etiam pro defunctis."—*Ubi supra.*

"Throughout all the vici or villages, and in each of the curtes or manors belonging to the monastery, which were situated in Italy and not at any great distance, there were stewards, called ministri monachorum, who gathered in (from the coloni) the corn and wine. But, when the time arrived for transporting the produce of the estates to the hay-yards, and granaries, and cellars of the cœnobium, a great wain with a high stage and a bell for ringing, was sent to the place of gathering, where other waggons would be prepared in hundreds, sometimes five hundred, all laden with the corn and wine, and other produce. And of this belfry-wain, called the Plaustrum Dominicale, the object was this: to certify to all magnates, that the whole convoy of waggons which followed it belonged to St. Peter's monastery of Nova Lux. No duke, no marquis, count, prelate, viscount, or villicus would presume to offer any sort of obstruction or violence to the convoy thus protected. So that, as tradition tells, no merchant dared to venture forth on the highways to repair with his wares to the fairs, held annually in various parts of Italy, until he saw the Plaustrum Dominicale approaching."* Thus it

* "Cum autem necessitas vehendi exigeret ad monasterium—mittebatur plaustrum cum pertica in eo conficta cum scilla ad prædictos vicos, in quibus inveniebantur nonnulla alia plaustra congregata plerumque centena, aliquando etiam quinquagena, quæ deferebant frumenta vel vinum ad antedictum cœnobium. Hoc

was that trade in those ages had no such protectors as the monks.

The Chronicler then proceeds to tell how, on a certain occasion, one of these convoys was set upon and pillaged by some of the Frank king's servants—familiam regis—who were in the valley as it passed with the king's horses at grass—pascentes equos regios. In a succeeding chapter, we have strange exploits performed by a certain Gwalterus, who had exchanged the hauberk for the cowl: and who on this occasion being sent by the abbot to expostulate with the king's servants, suffered himself to be maltreated by these lawless gentry—and even stripped of his garments—usque ad femoralia; but when it came to that, the old warrior got the better of the monk in Walter, who laid about him with a vengeance, so that he utterly overthrew the enemy and conducted the convoy in great triumph to Nova Lux, besides recovering all that had been plundered from the merchants.*

vero plaustrum Dominicale nil ob aliud mittebatur nisi ut agnoscerent universi magnates quod ex illo inclito essent plaustra monasterio. In quibus erat nullus dux, marchio, comes, præsul, vicecomes, aut villicus, qui qualemcumque violentiam auderet eisdem plaustribus inferre.—Nam per foros Italiæ annuales ut tradunt, nullus audebat negotia exercere donec idem plaustrum vidissent advenire mercatores cum scilla."—*Ib.*

* "Adeptâ victoriâ, accipiens cuncta *et sua et* ALIENA"—the property of the merchants and others, travelling under the safeguard of the Plaustrum.

When sending Walter on the embassy to the familiam regis, the abbot had charged him to comport himself with the most Christian meekness. "If," said he, "they take thy pelisse—pellicia—let them have thy cowl also, telling them," said the abbot, "that such is the precept of thy brethren to thee." "But if they insist," said Walter, "on my intercala also (some inner vest), what am I to do?" "Say with regard to that also," replied the abbot, "that it is the precept of thy brethren to let it go." "Pardon me, my lord, I beseech thee, and be not displeased with me, if I ask to be instructed in one other matter—de femoralibus quid erit?—what am I to do if they are for making no exception in regard of another garment, but insist that it is to go with the rest?" The abbot replied, that on this point, he did not think it necessary to enjoin him anything: having in the foregoing provided sufficiently for the practice of humility. Thus left to his own discretion on that single point, the quondam soldier issued forth and began to inquire amongst the servants of the cœnobium, if there was any one of the horses about the place, they thought, that in case of emergency would have mettle and spirit enough to serve as a war-horse. The servants replied that finer or stronger cattle were nowhere to be found, than some of those in the stalls. These they brought out, and Walter mounted them, spur on heel, and made trial of them one after another, rejecting them all, and pointing out the defects

which unfitted them to carry a knight to the charge. Then reflecting for a moment, he inquired what had become of a horse on which they might possibly remember, a knight had, long ago, come riding to that monastery gate? "Is he dead or alive?" asked the monk. "Alive he is, my lord," they answered, "but little more than that, he is so old: moreover, he was assigned to the bakers, for carrying the sacks of corn to the mill every day." "Bring him hither," said Walter, "that I may look at him;" and when the old horse was brought, he mounted him: and rousing him with rein and spur—"It is well," he cried, "the gaits and prowess which I taught him with so much care in other days, he has not even yet forgotten!"*

The sequel has been already told. The violence resorted to by Walter, though in so just a cause, and from dire necessity, was, nevertheless, most bitterly bewailed by the abbot and by all the brethren. They all joined in fervent prayer for his forgiveness. Poor Walter was reproved severely, and afterwards did penance for his sin.

No apology is offered for the length and variety

* Illi, "Vivit, Domine, sed jam vetulus est, ceterum ad usum pistorum deputatus est, ferens quotidie annonam ad molendirum ac referens. Quibus Walterus. Adducatur nobis et videamus qualiter se habeat. Cui cum adductus esset et ascendisset super eum ac promovisset: Tote, inquit, adhuc bene de meo tenet nutrimentum quod in annis juvenilibus meis illum studui docere."

of these extracts: they shed on those distant times a light more clear, more genuine, and if we mistake not, more agreeable to the reader, than any that could be supplied by the most diffuse and elaborate dissertations.

CHAPTER VII.

The chronicler of Farfa, after describing, as we have seen, the happy state of things which prevailed in Italy during the whole of the Carlovingian period, adds: "But when at length in punishment of the sins of Christians, the power of that dynasty began to decline, and became altogether impotent, a multitude of Pagans of that wicked race called Agareni, or Saracens, invaded Italy; and few were the cities from Trasbido to the Po, with the exception of Rome and Ravenna, which escaped destruction at their hands, or was not at least brought under the scourge of their tyranny. As for the cities and provinces which they conquered, it was their practice to plunder them of every thing; and either to drive away the inhabitants into captivity, or to slay them with the edge of the sword."*

Now it was that it became evident to all, how providential it was that the pontiffs, and especially Saint Leo IV., had laboured so zealously in repairing the walls and gates of the cities; in erecting fortified places; but above all in placing Rome

* Chron. Farfense, ap. Murat. Rer. Ital. Scrip. t. ii. par. 2.

itself in such a complete state of defence. For it appears from an account that has come down to us from the pen of a Sicilian ecclesiastic who fell into the hands of the Saracens, when they invaded and conquered Sicily, that their darling project was the capture and destruction of Rome—the flame of fanaticism urging them on to this still more, than even their avidity for plunder. This appears from two incidents recorded by a writer contemporary with the events—one refers to the answer of the Saracen Emir by whom Sicily was conquered to certain ambassadors who came from Italy to deprecate his ire, the other refers to the manner by which the said Emir came by his death. The document from which we are about to quote was written by a deacon of Naples named John, in A.D. 903. It is to be found in that part of Muratori's great collection which is devoted to the sources of Sicilian history.

To these ambassadors, then, who came to make a treaty with him—fœderis causa—the haughty Emir, scorned so much as to vouchsafe an audience. But after keeping them for some days in suspense and terror, he thus announced his command: "Let them begone from hence," he said, "and tell the wretches who sent them, that to take care of all Hesperia is my concern; and that as for those that dwell there, it is for me to dispose of their destinies at my pleasure. Do they dare to hope that my arms can for a moment be resisted by that Greekling—

Græculum—(Leo the Philosopher), or by that despicable Frank — Franculum (this has reference to Charles the Fat). Would that I could catch them both together with all their forces, in some place where they could not escape by flight! I would make them sensible of what they seem to have no conception of—the might and the vengeful stroke which belong to warlike men. But why waste my breath with these Christian dogs? Let them begone: and tell them that it is not their doom alone (that of Naples and the southern cities), which is sealed: the city of that old dotard Peter also—Petruli senis civitatem—I have already doomed to destruction."

Terror seized on all hearts, when the ambassadors returned with these tidings to Naples. All was commotion—in one direction crowds were rushing to put the walls and fortifications in a state of defence, in another they dispersed themselves over the surrounding country to gather provisions, driving every thing they could find into the city to prepare for the impending siege.*

* We have a description of Naples by Peter the Deacon, a monk of Monte Casino, from which it appears it was second only to Rome, for the beauty of its buildings, and the vast number of its churches, monasteries, and charitable institutions. It was the refuge of the poor and afflicted—the great wealth acquired by its citizens in commerce being joyfully dispensed in charity.† "For," says Peter, "this city is a city of mercy and piety—defended

† "Et juxta præceptum Dominicum præfatæ Urbis accolæ potius Lazaros quæritant, &c."

Then the Consul Gregory, and Stephen the bishop of Naples with the optimates took counsel together regarding the castle of Lucullus. This was a structure that stood on the foreland of Misenum, at the north-west entrance of the bay of Naples. Caius Marius had a villa there before Lucullus: the sumptuous residence of the latter was the prison assigned by Odoacer to Romulus Augustulus, the last to wear the purple of the Cæsars. From that time it had been a monastery, the body of the great Saint Severinus having been deposited in the church; which, standing on that commanding promontory, had long been looked up to as a pharos and a sanctuary by the mariners. They feared its becoming a strong-hold for the infidels, unless measures were taken to prevent it from falling into their hands. It was therefore decreed that the inhabitants of the town, which had grown up around the monastery, being brought to Naples, the place itself should be razed to the ground.*

When this came to the ears of John, abbot of Saint Severinus at Naples, he hastened to the Con-

round about on every side with all goodness."† Both Greek and Latin were spoken in the city, which sometimes had two bishops, one for the people of each nation or language: but at no time was there any schism amongst them.

* "Civibus Neopolim transportatis, oppidum everteretur."

† "Quoniam civitas hæc civitas misericordiæ est et pietatis, hinc inde vallata omni bonitate."—*Ib. ap. Baron.* an. 872. n. 14.

sul Gregory and to Bishop Stephen, and got permission to remove the relics of Saint Severinus, from the Lucullano on the promontory to his own church. After opening a first and second vault, excavated one under the other, in the solid rock beneath the altar, a third still deeper was discovered. There reposed the body of the saint: the bishop set his seal upon the sarcophagus in which it was contained; and on the 4th of the ides of October (the town having by that time been completely levelled to the ground), the abbot John came out to the Lucullanum from Naples, by night time, with his monks. There they chanted the matin hymns, and then, clad in white robes, went down to the deep crypt where the sacred body rested: they deposit it in the rich receptacle they had prepared for it, and standing round it with their tapers burning, spend in psalmody what yet remained of the night until the dawn.

As the sun was rising, the bishop and his clergy, the duke and the optimates with all the people could be seen approaching from Naples along the shore, with the standard of salvation throwing back the morning beams, as they advance to the ruins on the promontory, where the abbot and the monks were watching round the body of the saint. And so they carried it to Neapolis, the thuribles beyond number casting incense to the zephyrs that breathe so softly on those shores, and the clergy and the

multitude chanting the Psalms in Latin and Greek alternately, as the procession moved along.*

Not long after they heard the following report of the so much dreaded Emir's death:—

"While the Emir was asleep in a certain chapel of St. Michael the archangel," said the fugitive who told the story, "the form of a venerable man stood before him; who, when the Emir menaced him for intruding on his rest, struck the Saracen with the staff which he carried in his hand, and disappeared. Trembling from fear and anguish, the Emir started from his sleep. He commanded the camp to be searched, and if any of the Latins were found in it, to have them brought into his presence. Me they found and brought before him. When he asked what was the appearance and stature of the old man Peter.† With fear and trembling I answered, 'My lord, I know not what Peter you would know of.' 'That one of Rome, I mean,' cried the Emir, 'have you never seen him in a picture?'" On hearing the captive's description of the appearance traditionally assigned to St. Peter—'Allah!' he exclaimed, 'it was he who transpierced me with that stroke while I slept, after having long meditated on my pillow how to conquer Hesperia, but, above all, how utterly to destroy the Roman city.'"

* "Clero ex Latinis Græcisque alternis concinente."—*Ib.*

† Qualis, quantusque Petrus Senex.

‡ "Cor varias raptum in curas, super Hesperiæ, Romanæque præsertim Urbis, *demolitione*."—*Ap. Murat. Rer. Scrip.* t. 1. par. 2. p. 296.

In whatever light this statement may be viewed, for the purpose for which it is here adduced, it is conclusive. Suppose it to have been a fiction: it is equally convincing. The fugitive knows that to give his story the air of truth —to have it obtain belief with those who were well aware of the object of the Saracens—he must make the Emir rave as he does about St. Peter and the *demolition* of St. Peter's city. However, to set aside the necessity for conjecture on this head, we have only to look into the epistles of Pope John VIII., who succeeded to the papacy on the death of Hadrian II., A.D. 872—the point from which we have now to pursue the onward progress of our history.

In the 1st of these letters which has come down to us—it is addressed to Count Boson who was Charles the Bald's viceroy in Italy—the Pope says, that the whole country has been well nigh depopulated by the Saracens. Whether the States generally, or only the provinces nearer to Rome, are meant by the term *hujus nostræ regionis*, we cannot be certain: the latter is the more probable conjecture. In the 4th, addressed to his legates Leo and Peter, at the court of Charles the Bald, he speaks of the country—*undique*—in all directions being "lacerated" by the same enemy. In the 8th to the same Count Boson, he writes, "Repeatedly—*sæpe*—have we, by letters and by messengers, exhorted, implored, your glory, that with the outstretched arm of help,

you would hasten to assist us against those nefarious Saracens. But, *proh dolor!* no signs of aid as yet—nay, as yet, not so much as an answer either on this or on other matters of urgency on which we had written to your nobility. Wherefore, heart-broken with grief, again and again, we admonish you: beloved Son in Christ, we exhort, implore you, no longer to defer your march, or to abandon the people of the Lord to be torn to pieces—*discerpi*—by these foes of heaven, who cover the whole face of the land like locusts:* so that nearly all the inhabitants being thence swept away—either dragged into captivity or slain with the sword—the country has become a solitude haunted only by wild beasts. And what is still more to be dreaded, we have learned from a source not to be doubted that they are preparing to assault this city; a reinforcement of 100 ships, with 15 large transports for horses, being hourly expected by them for that purpose."

Letter 21st is to the Emperor Charles the Bald himself. "How many and how great are the things we have suffered and are suffering hourly at the hands of the Saracens, why should I attempt with the pen to describe, when all the leaves of the forest were they turned into tongues would not suffice to narrate them? The blood of Christians is poured out like water—the people devoted to God are

* Qui operuerunt universam superficiem terræ, sicut locustæ, &c.

slaughtered—*strage vastatur.* Captivity the most cruel in perpetual exile is the lot of such as escape destruction by the sword or by fire. Behold the cities—*civitates*—the walled towns—*castra*—and the country villages—*villæ*—bereft of inhabitants have sunk into ruin—*perierunt;* and their bishops dispersed in flight are sure of refuge no where but round these tombs of the Apostles. Wild beasts usurp the sanctuaries where stood their chair of doctrine—instead of breaking the bread of life to their flocks, they are now doomed to beg their own. Behold, most beloved son, the sword has pierced to the soul: days have come in which we exclaim, blessed are the wombs that have not brought forth. —The mistress of the nations, the queen of cities, the mother of churches, the consolation of the afflicted, the harbour of refuge for all who are in distress or danger—the seat of the Apostles, Rome, sits desolate and overwhelmed with distress. Behold, in truth, the 'dies calamitatis et miseriæ' has come upon us. In the year passed we sowed, but did not reap or gather in the harvest (by reason of the Saracens); this year we cannot hope to reap, for in seed-time we were not able to till the ground." "But why do I blame the Pagans," continues the afflicted Pontiff, "when at the hands of Christians we are doomed to no better treatment?" He then proceeds to describe the tyranny and rapacity of the Marchiones, who, instead of endeavouring to make head against the Saracens, had become their rivals

in every species of cruelty and oppression. "I may well say with the prophet, 'that the leavings of the locusts the bruchus has devoured.' Coming in on the scenes of havoc the infidels had left behind, these sons of the Church have left nothing but the ground which they could not carry away. They have picked our bones. If in the open country the Pagans destroy all our provisions: these Christians prevent supplies being sent us from the towns, or the districts which have as yet escaped. The Saracens slay us by the sword, the others slay us by famine. Our people are dragged into foreign lands to be there treated as slaves by the Saracens: by the others they are treated as slaves in their own country. They are gallant to oppress the forlorn, to sweep with their squadrons from the face of the land whatever they can lay hold on, when there is no danger of encountering the invaders; but when we summon them for that purpose, they are nowhere to be found. There is no one to strike a blow for the liberation of the captives, forced away in droves,—our voice is lifted in cries for help, but woe is me, it is lifted in vain. No one attends to the call, no one comes to our relief. There is, under God, no help of succour or refuge for us but from you, most noble and clement Emperor." It was to no purpose these heart-rending appeals were made to the craven-hearted and worthless grandson of the mighty Charlemagne. The Carlovingian dynasty was long since, and irretrievably gone in the same down-hill

career of enervation and rottenness which so invariably and so speedily conducted to ruin the various Barbarian races, the Visigoths, Vandals, Burgundians, Heruli, Ostrogoths, Merovingians, Lombards. It was our purpose to have traced in some detail the causes of the decline and fall of the Barbaric-Romanze empire. It is a most attractive subject: the materials for it are abundant, and, moreover, this field of history has been so little frequented as still to possess to a great extent the charm of novelty; but our limits will only admit of our stating in the most cursory manner, that as for aid from beyond the Alps, nothing could be more futile, as Pope John was destined to learn by bitter experience, than to hope for anything of the sort. There the anarchy had already commenced. With such forces as they could bring into the field, the princes were too intent on their fratricidal hostilities to allow of their offering any effectual resistance, even to the bands of pirates who were making their descents along the ocean shores wherever they listed, or ascending the great rivers, the Elbe, the Rhine and its tributaries into the very heart of the country, the Scheldt, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne; while in the East, beyond the limits to which the very memory of Charlemagne had long confined them, the Hungari were preparing to renew the devastations of Attila; and to fill the whole of Christendom with the dread that Gog and Magog had been let loose to usher in the terrors of the Judgment-day.

From Charles the Bald, therefore, to whom he addresses himself in such impassioned language, there was no shadow of hope for the Pontiff. In the year 875, according to Baronius: in 876 according to Pagi, and on the festival of our Lord's Nativity, he had placed the imperial crown on the head of that prince amidst acclamations not less loud than those with which his mighty grandsire Charlemagne had been saluted; but with claims to homage, and with power or bravery, how different, to redeem the oath of championship by which, on his knees before the Pope and the confession of St. Peter, he bound himself to be at all times, and against all attacks, the defender of the see and dominions of the Apostle?* We have already

* "Carolus—Romam, invitante Papa Joanne, perrexit, et xvi. Kalend. Januarii ab eo, cum gloria magna, in ecclesia S. Petri susceptus est, A.D. DCCCLXXVI. in die nativitatis Domini, beato Petro multa pretiosa numera offerens, in imperatorem unctus et coronatus est, atque Romanorum Imperator appellatus est."—*Annal. Bentin. ap. Pagi in Baron.* an. 875. n. 3.

In his address to the Synod or Diet at Pavia, John VIII. thus expresses himself, relative to his having conferred the empire on Charles—"Et quia pridem Apostolicæ memoriæ decessori nostro Papæ Nicolao id ipsum jam inspiratione divina revelatum fuisse comperimus: ELEGIMUS MERITO ET APPROBAVIMUS uno cum annisu et voto omnium fratrum coepiscoporum nostrorum, atque aliorum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ ministrorum, amplique Senatus, totiusque Romani Populi, gentisque togatæ."—*Ap. Baron. Ann.* an. 876. n. 6.

The act by which the magnates of upper Italy, assembled at Pavia, A.D. 876, coincide in the election at Rome by John VIII. of

heard the Pontiff's account of the result with which he had appealed to Count Boson, the Emperor's representative at Pavia, for assistance: we have also heard from him that the Marchiones, or those who were stationed on the frontiers of the States and in some of the stronger positions in Tuscany and the duchy of Spoleti, instead of rendering, as it was their duty to do, every possible aid and protection against the infidel invaders, seemed intent only to rival them in the work of havoc and ruin.

In letter the 22nd, to Count Lambert, very probably the same who figures as the unprovoked and brutal ravager of the Apostolic city during the consecration of the late Pontiff—Pope John complains of the aggressions of his "men" on the patrimony of St. Peter, and threatens them with excommunication in case they do not desist.—"Innumerable," he says, "are the evil turns the 'men'—soldiers of St. Peter the Apostle have had to endure at their hands. Their forays are wide-spread and incessant."—*Rapinas multas exercent.* In Ep. xxiii. ad Carolum Imperatorem, he complains that the malefactors of the States, under the ban of the Church for their crimes —apparently for aiding the Saracens—are ever sure of welcome and protection with the lords of the marches—*marchionibus.* He turns to implore the

Charles the Bald to be emperor, is signed by eighteen archbishops and bishops, and one abbot—each subscribing his own name in full—but as for Duke Boson and the ten counts who were parties to it, their marks only are to it.

good offices of the empress Richilda, to prevail on the anointed champion of St. Peter's rights to save them, as well from Pagans as from most perverse Christians—*tam a paganis quam a pessimis Christianis.* Again, writing to the emperor, Ep. 30.—after renewing his entreaties for help against the plundering barons and the Saracens, the Pope continues :—"Within the walls, the remnant of the people who have survived so many disasters are reduced to the most trying distress: all beyond the walls is a solitude.*—Having devastated all Campania—everything to the south of Tusculum and the Val di Sacco —*funditus*—destroying it root and branch, the Saracens are now furtively moving their forces across the river which flows from Tiber towards Rome, in order to fall unawares on the Sabines and the districts round about. The basilicas of the saints and their altars they have destroyed: of the priests and holy nuns, some they have dragged into captivity, others they have put to every species of most cruel death; and all the people redeemed with the blood of Christ, through a vast circuit, they have slain. To such a plight has the commonwealth been reduced, partly by the Saracens and partly by the tyranny of Christians, that what was ours is no

* "*Fornisecus devastatis ac in solitudinem redactis*"—here begins, not the *imaginary* but the real history of the desolation characteristic of the Campagna di Roma. We intend occasionally to advert to this feature of the subject so as to shew that the chain of evidence is uninterrupted.

longer so—all resources of our States being cut off, so as to disable us from defending the country or ministering to the Church in her sorrows and her distress."*

Ep. 31. to the empress is to the same effect. The highways are on every side closed against pilgrims, and those wishing to come to Rome. Letters 7th, 21st, 23rd and 32nd, have complaints against the Marchiones of Tuscany. On the side of Umbria and Spoleti, letters 82nd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th and 90th, are full of complaints, expostulations and threats, regarding the usurpations, tyranny, and plottings, even against Rome itself, of the notorious Lambert.

Writing to John, archbishop of Ravenna, the Pontiff says of Lambert: "After cruelly ravaging nearly the entire territory of Saint Peter with an immense following of marauding bands, he approached the city. We received him with all honour, and rather as a friend than as a cruel foe, at the threshold of Saint Peter the Apostle. But he requited good for evil. Partly by fraud and partly by open force he got possession of the city gates, and for many days we were held so strictly guarded that, it was not without the utmost difficulty either the proceres of the Romans, the bishops, the priests, or

* "Ita sunt exterminata et devastata tyrannide *ut non nostra sunt quæ nostra fuerant*: quin potius solo nomine omnibus illis utamur, et vel ad defensionem patriæ, vel ad aliquam utilitatem nostræ ecclesiæ quorumlibet solatia nunquam inveniamus."

the officers of our own household could come near us. It was even prohibited to supply us with food; a procession of the litanies on approaching Saint Peter's was set upon, dispersed, and maltreated, so that the Pagans could not have acted worse; and the outlaws of the State—to which they have approved themselves incorrigible, and thrice excommunicated traitors and rebels,—he has, without our consent and against our will, brought back and reinstated in Rome."*

Pope John after this, became a fugitive from the city, which he laid under an interdict, Saint Peter's being closed, even against the pilgrims, who returned heart-broken to all regions of the Roman world to relate the disastrous scenes they had beheld.

From a letter of Pope John to the Empress Angelberga, we learn that previous even to the demise of Ludovic II. some similar attempts had been made in the provinces beyond the Apennines—more especially at Ravenna.† Ep. 35. is to the bishops in the kingdom of the Emperor Carolus, to whom he makes his moan in language the most touching over the calamities of his people. Another letter, the 33rd, to Ajo bishop of Beneventum is to the

* Ap. Baron. an. 878. n. xi. The sainted Archbishop Foulk of Rheims, takes occasion, when writing to his relative (if our memory serve us rightly), Lambertus of Spoleti, at that time emperor, exhorts him with great force and affection to beware of the example and the fate of this his uncle's wicked example and wretched end. *Frodor. in vit. Ful.*

† Ap. Baluziun Miscellan. t. v. p. 490.

same effect. "In the grave alone," he cries, "do we hope for respite from the griefs which rend our heart for the woes of the people committed to our care, and for those also, who, bound in duty to aid in our struggles against the enemies of Christ, were found to throw embarrassments in our way."*

This seems to refer to the exertions Pope John had been making to break up the treaty, by which the Duke of Naples and other Christian potentates and cities of the south had ignominiously leagued themselves with the infidel invaders and ravagers of their country. Thus, letter the 37th, addressed to Landulphus, bishop of Capua, calls on that prelate to exert himself in conjunction with the Papal legates, that the pact entered into with the Saracens be dissolved.

There are several other letters on the same subject. The chief promoter of this impious league (which must have led to the total subjugation of Italy, and the extirpation of the Christian religion from Rome, as completely as it had been extirpated from Jerusalem), was Sergius, duke of Naples, and for his obstinate adherence to it, the sentence of excommunication was fulminated against him, as Leo Ostiensis tells us.† Not content with sending his legates to urge on this affair, in such a vital point

* Pro his qui nobiscum certare debuerant, et non solum inimicos Christi foveunt sed etiam nostrum laborem impediunt, immensis angustiis æstuemus.

† L. 1.

of view did John regard it, that he went himself to Gaeta; an expedition which was attended with the best results.*

Giannone informs us, l. 7. p. 448, of his History of the kingdom of Naples, that the Saracens were defeated on the Garigliano by this Pontiff—who was the first of the Popes, he says, to appear at the head of an army. He was urged to this measure, "per cagion per altro pietoso," to repress the ferocity with which those infidels were for overturning every thing in the Papal States, and utterly destroying the See of St. Peter. Of the source from which this eminent historian derived his statement, we are not aware.†

We meet in a collection of the Councils with two decrees—both by John VIII.—one passed at Ravenna A.D. 877; the other in the following year, in Concilio Tricassino. In the first it is interdicted to "meddle with the patrimonies of our holy Church," (to the south of the Apennine.)‡

The second runs thus: "Also, by Apostolical au-

* Ep. 59. ap. Baron. an. 877. n. 6.

† In the same place, p. 449, he corrects the erroneous assertion of so many writers, who will have it, that local interdicts began in the reign of S. Greg. VII.

‡ "Appiæ, videlicet, et Lavicanense, vel (et) Campanianum, Tiburtinum, Theatinum, utrumque Sabinense et Tusciæ, Porticum Sancti Petri, *monetam Romanam*, ordinaria et actuaria publica, ripam, portus, et Ostiam. Sed hæc omnia in usum salarii sacri palatii Lateranensis perpetualiter maneant, ita ut solitos redditus et angarias perpetualiter absque ulla contradictione persolvant."—*Ap. Labbeum, Concil.* t. ix. p. 303.

thority, we order and sanction, that neither at the present time, nor at any time to come, shall any one, of whatsoever race or order he may be, presume to seek, receive, or confer on another by way of benefice, by written deed or otherwise, the monasteries, courts, estates, or salt-works, whether in Ravenna, Pentapolis, and Æmilia, or in either Roman or Lombard Tuscany, or, in fine, in any part of the territory of St. Peter the Apostle, excepted only in cases wherein the grant is for the use and special service of the holy Roman Church, or of the duchy wherein is situated the said property."*

From these decrees, it is easy to discern that the scramble and lawless acts of usurpation and rapacity, out of which arose the great feudal houses in the various provinces of the Papal States, had already commenced. The doings of Lambert of Spoleti, and his accomplice Adelbertus of Tuscany, are a sample of the process by which such grandeur was erected. Nothing sacred or profane was respected by those petty tyrants. How it fared even with the

* "Item Apostolica auctoritate præcipimus et sancimus, ut modo et deinceps, nullus cujuslibet gentis, vel ordinis homo, monasteria, cortes, massas, et salas, tam per Ravennam, et Pentapolim, et Æmiliam, quam et per Tusciam Romanorum et Longobardorum, et omne territorium Sancti Petri Apostoli constitutas, præsumat beneficiali more, aut scripto aut qualibet modo petere recipere vel conferre, exceptis illis dumtaxat quibus pro utilitatibus et speciali servitio S. R. E. vel ducatus uniuscujusque loci habitatoribus præbetur, nel ad nostra dispensanda constituti sunt," &c.—*Ibid. cap.* xvii.

city of the Apostles and with their successors at their hands, we have seen. To the defenceless husbandman whose property they ravaged or swept into their castles, which from this time forth begin to bristle on every vantage ground by the highway, the bridge, the ford, the pass of the mountains; to adventurous merchants whom they ransomed or plundered without pity, they became a worse scourge, because a more incessant one, than Saracen or Hungarian. Like the thunder-storm, the latter having wreaked their fury passed away; these lawless and ferocious marchiones, counts, dukes, and valvasours, and castellans of all degrees, were ever on the look out for rapine and for mischief. They spared not the pilgrim to the tombs of the Apostles, any more than the coloni or the merchants; to all they were a terror. They never hesitated when it served their turn to make common cause, even with the Saracens, not to speak of the German Cæsars, or the French kings of after ages, in order to outrage the successors of the Apostle, to usurp his patrimony, or to make merchandize of the awful authority conferred on him by the Redeemer.

Thus, in his 87th letter, as referred to by Baronius, A.D. 878, n. 13, it is stated by the Pontiff that Lambert and Adelbert of Tuscany, after forcing the subjects of the States, so far as they could, to swear to obey them rather than the sovereign Pontiff, sent ambassadors to the Saracens of Taren-

tum to get assistance from them to carry on the war against the Roman Church.*

In short, from these first encounters with the Saracens, all through the middle age—the times of the Crusades, and down to the victory of Lepanto, and the defeat of the Turks by John Sobieski under the walls of Vienna—we shall find the battle of the Cross against the Crescent, devolving mainly upon the Popes; we find them, from age to age, endeavouring to withdraw the Christians, princes and people, from their intestine feuds and wars, to combine them in the grand and ennobling enterprise of defending and vindicating Christendom against its beastly and fanatical assailants. Just now, we saw Pope John exerting himself by letters, full of entreaties, expostulations, threats; by his legates, and finally by his own presence, to break up the alliance into which the Græco-Italian cities of the south, with Naples at their head, had entered into with the infidels. We witnessed his success in not only dissolving the unnatural and impious league, but in inflicting such a defeat on the Saracens of the Garigliano, as, for many a long day, left the surrounding country in security and peace. This was most probably in the year 877, or perhaps in the

* "Adelbertum marchionem (Tusciæ) misisse legationem ad Sarracenos Tarentum una cum muneribus, ut ab eis copias cum vellet adversus Romanam Ecclesiam paratas haberet."—*Baron. ubi supra.*

year following; well then, in A.D. 881, and towards the close of his pontificate, we find him obliged to begin all this labour over again. Naples has once more accepted the Saracen alliance with open arms, and, as Leo Ostiensis tells us, has aided them —and that, too, under the leadership of Athanasius, the bishop of the place,—to lay waste the provinces of Beneventum, Capua, Salernum, and Rome. "And many were the monasteries, churches, with villas and cities," he adds, "that sunk into heaps of ruin under the flames thus spread by the impious."*

It was probably about this time, or not long after, that the following events took place: When the monastery of Farfa was attacked by the Saracens, the venerable abbot Peter presided over it with great zeal and piety. With his monks and the soldiers of Farfa, he maintained the defence for seven years. "But seeing," says the chronicler, "that the Christians, in punishment of their sins, were abandoned by the Almighty, and that they had fallen without hope under the scourge of the Pagans, he made three parts of the treasure of the monastery. One of these he sent to Rome, another to Rieti, and the third he carried with him into the country of Firmo —where with the monks he had brought with him from Sabinia, he settled in the monastery of Saints Hippolytus and John, which is called *in Sylve*."†

Then, at length, the fate which had already be-

* L. i. cap. 42. † Chron. Far. p 454.

fallen all the monasteries in the Agro Romano, was shared by St. Mary's of Farfa; "so that for forty-seven years," says the chronicler, "it remained without an inhabitant."*

One of the primary objects of a Synod convened at Rome, A.D. 881, is to take measures against these disasters —above all against the horrible scandal of allowing the sworn ally of the Mahometan ravager to remain a chief guardian over the fold of Christ. The letter of the Pope, writing from the Synod, is addressed to the bishops dwelling (whether as ordinaries or fugitives) in Gaeta, Neapolis, Capua, Berolasis (Bari), Amalfi, Beneventum, and Salernum. It opens thus:

"What and how cruel are the calamities which the Church of Christ has had to suffer from Athanasius, bishop of Naples, we could wish that we had not to mention to you; but such enormities must not be passed over in silence. For behold, as is known to most of you, how for a long time past—having leagued with the sons of Ishmael the Saracens, those enemies of God—he has reduced this whole country to the utmost misery and desolation, so that there is no longer any one to inhabit it.† Regarding this crime we have admonished him repeatedly—*sæpissime*—and making light of corporal fatigue, we went to Naples, gave him a large sum of money,

* "Cuncta monasteria extra Romam devastarunt funditus, ita ut et hoc monasterium XLVII. annis absque habitatore esset."—*Chron. Farf. p.* 498.

† "Ut jam non sit, qui eam prorsus inhabitet."—*Ep.* 270.

and besought him to disconnect himself from them; and, repenting though late, for what was past, at length to put an end to such pestilent doings. Not only did he promise this, but prayed that if ever again he was found relapsing, he might be stripped of the priesthood, and subjected to the anathema of the Church." This reprobate, the Pope goes on to say, was far from holding to his promise, and that, in consequence, he was obliged to go a second time to Gaeta, to try in all manner of ways, through his legates and otherwise, to detach him from the Saracens; but all to no purpose." Then follows the dread sentence of anathema.

In the following year, A.D. 882, we find the Pontiff, in a letter—the 298th—to the empress, still pouring out the same lamentations over the miseries his people are suffering from the ravages of the Saracens, who are preparing, he says, to fall on Rome, not with one, but with four different armies. This is the empress, not of Charles the Bald but of Charles the FAT, a still more craven-hearted and worthless prince. On his degenerate head, the crown of empire worn by Charlemagne had been placed by the hands of the Pope on the preceding Christmas-day, amidst the usual acclamations, and with the accustomed solemnities before the tombs of the Apostles. There the oath to champion the cause of St. Peter was solemnly sworn. This letter to the empress tells us how it was redeemed. "Neither has our spiritual son Augustus," says the Pope, "nor prince

of any other race afforded us the slightest help in our conflicts."

In another letter, given by Baronius under this same year, A.D. 882, the Pope requests King Alphonso the Great of Spain to send him a supply of horses and arms—optimos Mauriscos cum armis—"such as are called by the Spaniards, alpharaces," that his people may thus be the better able to cope with the Saracens.*

It appears from an ancient inscription, first brought to light by Muratori, that Saint Paul's had been completely surrounded by strongly fortified walls by John VIII., and connected with the city, so that the "aged proceres," the "juvenes togati," and "those consecrated to God," could in security resort to that holy temple. This new city was called Joannipolis, from its founder, but went more commonly by the name of the Burgh of Saint Paul. The great extent of the walls and their majestic appearance are the themes of the Poet's admiration. "John VIII.," he says, "was alike adorned by his virtues as by his great actions."†

* Baron. an. 882. n. 6.

† "In porta Burgi basilicæ Sancti Pauli,
Hic murus salvator adest, invictaque porta,
Quæ reprobos arcet, suscipiatque pios.
Hanc proceres intrate senes, juvenesque togati,
Plebsque sacrata Dei, Limina Sancta petens.
Quam præsul Domini patravit rite Joannes,
Qui nitidis fulxit moribus ac meritis.

We should have stated that there is no regular biography of John VIII. as of the other Popes up to his time. Such notices as reflect light upon his reign, are to be gleaned from his own letters and other sources, scattered here and there in the acts of Councils, and in the ancient monastic chronicles. When we next get a glimpse of him, he is preparing, once more, to cross the Alps, in the hope of being able to bring about a reconciliation among the Frank princes—intent only on their unnatural wars—each ambitious to usurp what belonged to the other, though all of the same family—while their realms (torn to pieces by the nobles, who zealously copy the conduct of their kings) are on all sides abandoned and given up as a defenceless and bleeding prey to the Norman, Saracen, and Hungarian invaders. His 307th letter is to Count Suppo, who had been left governor of Lombardy by Charles the Fat. The Pope requests him to meet him with an escort at the ascent of Mount Cenis; for already, the Saracens, established in their celebrated stronghold of Fraxineto—a promontory of

Præsulis octavi de nomine facta Joannis
Ecce Joannipolis Urbs veneranda eluit.
Angelus hanc Domini Pauli cum Principe Sanctus
Custodiat portam semper ab hoste nequam.
Insignem nimium, muro quam construit amplo.
Sedis Apostolicæ Papa Joannes ovans.
Ut sibi post obitum cœstis janua regni
Pandatur, Christo sat miserante Deo."

Ap. Murat. Dissert. D. 26. t. i. p. 420.

the Maritime Alps—had occupied nearly all the passes of the mountains, rendering them unsafe for travellers, whether merchants or pilgrims, unless when they joined in large armed companies,—as was customary, or were strongly escorted. But the next journey of Pope John VIII. was to be to a better world; soon after writing this letter, he died. The character given of him by Muratori is, that he was "infaticabile e di molta finezza."*

* Annali d'Italia, ann. 882.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of Marinus II.* who succeeded John VIII. in the throne of St. Peter, the Liber Pontificalis, which heretofore has served our turn so well, has nothing but the date of his election, A.D. 882, and of his death, A.D. 884. In the annals of the Church, this Pontiff performs his part most nobly during a most arduous and important crisis. The following incident, however, which is copied from a work that may be justly said to have opened out before us a new and enchanting world in English history,—is the only one connected with his rather brief pontificate that appertains to our present purpose.

"In the year 883," says the historian alluded to, "Marinus, who sat as Pontiff for a period of seventeen months, at the request of King Alfred, rendered the 'School of the English,' at Rome, free from every tribute. The Pope also bestowed upon the English sovereign many gifts of transcendant value, and amongst the rest a particle—and by no means a small one—of the saving cross, on which hung for the salvation of the world, the Son of God:

* A. D. 882—884.

a gift indeed! more welcome, more prized, and more precious than the purest refined gold. This self-same year, in accordance with a vow he had made at the time that a foreign and Pagan foe had been able to establish their winter-quarters in the city of London, King Alfred sent a large gift to Rome, to be distributed as alms, and another to the shrine of Saint Thomas in India."*

There is no biography of Hadrian III. who succeeded Marinus. The little which is said of him in other sources inspires a high respect for his virtues; but as to the temporal affairs of the States, we are left to search them out in the Monastic Chronicles. How awful their reverses! How deplorable the state to which we find them reduced, contrasted with the flourishing condition in which they were, when last we surveyed those abodes of piety, of study, of the highest Christian virtues, practised with seraphic ardour by their peace-loving and mercy-dispensing inmates!

In this very year, 884, the far-famed monastery of Monte Casino, which had risen by the exertions of Pope Gregory II. in redoubled glory from the heap of ruins to which the Lombards had reduced it, was "occupied, sacked, and burned" by the

* A Catholic History of England, by William Bernard MacCabe, vol. ii. p. 218. Newby. London, 1849. In the instance of this passage, as in every other, this erudite and most amiable writer is copious and exact in his quotations from the original sources.

Saracens. The great monastery of Saint Vicentius, on the river Vulturnus, had previously experienced the same fate. "The cities," says the chronicler of the latter, "you would see reduced to deserts, the churches to unsightly ruins: the fields and highways were stained with the gore of Christians. One would have thought the end of the world was coming, were it not that some of the previous signs pointed out in the Gospels did not appear?" Then follows a vividly coloured description of the sudden and unexpected attack of the Saracens, of the defence stoutly and successfully made at the bridge of the Vulturnus by the monks and the major part of their dependants, until they saw behind them the venerable towers of Saint Vincent's wrapped in flames. A party of the infidels, conducted by a ford, and then through the woods, had done the work, while the conflict was raging at the bridge. Rout, and slaughter without mercy, followed. The dead lay in heaps; some few, dragged forth from hiding places among the smouldering ruins, were reserved as objects of derision, and being totally stripped of their garments, were driven along to their stronghold at the Gariglano by the infidels. Soagdan, the leader of this band, caused incense to be burned before him in homage; while more profane than Balthazar, he used as wine-cups the sacred chalices of the altar, in the drunken orgies with the which he celebrated his victory. Far worse even than this

is told of these bestial marauders, but they are of a nature not fit to be mentioned.*

This desecration of these abodes of religion and learning was but an emblem and forerunner of the ruin of pristine fervour, of the observance of rule, and of the still more deplorable disorders which began to lay waste the wreck of these communities, whom ere long we discover loitering in a half monastic half secular kind of way among the ruins of the greater monasteries, or in lesser ones dispersed in sequestered and inaccessible positions amongst the mountains. "For in these times of flight and anarchy," says another ancient chronicle, "when everything was abandoned to chance, and every other thought absorbed in providing for escape or the subsistence of the hour, but few adhered to God with the full intensity of fervour. They became from day to day more deeply entangled in the cares of the world, and more fatally exposed to the contamination of the passions. Even shame wore away from habit and the prevalence of disorderly example. The niceties of the rule became objects of contempt; even the property of the monasteries was dissipated for the worst of pur-

* From these scenes of destruction on the smiling borders of the Vulturnus, the Saracens spread themselves over the provinces of the Marsi which soon resounded with wailing. They next fell on the province of Valeria, in the States of Saint Peter; and, desolating Campania afterwards, they at length succeeded in taking Monte Casino, which as we have said they destroyed.

poses. Those bound to the cloister now wandered abroad, and wasted days and weeks with society the most unsuitable for a monk. What had resembled the abodes of angels were like to resemble the caverns where corsairs make their carousals: and the kennels for hunting dogs established within the sacred precincts, and the cattle, and the flocks which were accustomed, with the wild rustics who kept them, to make the paradise and the cloisters their own, only typified the gross ignorance and the debauchery which had usurped the once venerated sojourns of the love of God and of books, with the exercise in perfection of every most shining Gospel virtue.* In a word, amidst the total break up of society, and the disruption to such a fearful extent of all the bonds of moral and religious restraint which ensued, those who in a vast number of instances assumed the monastic costume, merely did so to secure the enjoyment of the monastic estates. But as this gloomy subject will come fully under our notice when Hildebrand has entered on the scene, we reserve till then any further reflection on it; and resume the thread of our history with the reign of Pope Stephen V. We fortunately have his biography. It is the last in the Liber Pontificalis of Anastasius, and was evidently from the pen of one who was himself

* "Post modum indocti et nescii infra eorum septa sternebant cubilia, sectatoresque ferarum secum illic accubare faciebant canûm, permittentibus custodibus præfectisque sevis, agmina, &c."—*Vid. Murat. Rer. Italic. Script. t.* 1. *par.* 2.

a sharer in the checkered scenes, which he describes.

"This Pontiff," he says, "was of noble parentage, and like his predecessors for so many ages, a Roman. His uncle, the holy bishop Zacharias who was Bibliothecarius of the Apostolic See, took care of his education, until the then reigning Pontiff being struck with the ardour of the youthful Stephanus in the practices of piety and in literary studies, ordained him subdeacon, and appointed him to officiate according to his grade in the Lateran Patriarchate.* In this post his life was admirable. He was chaste in body, in mind benevolent, in countenance joyous, in conversation prudent, abounding in good works, in genius fertile. He was a consoler of the afflicted, a caterer for the poor and for orphans—in a word, every virtue in the fullest bloom adorned his character."† He was appointed to the title of the Quatuor Coronatorum, as Cardinal-presbyter, by Marinus II.

To crown the calamities of the times, at the death of Pope Hadrian III. A.D. 885, a long protracted drought, and a famine arising from clouds of locusts

* Zacharias was bishop of Anagni and succeeded the justly celebrated Anastasius in the office of Bibliothecarius, A.D. 882, the year in which Pagi thinks it most probable that Anastasius died.

† "Erat enim corpore castus, animo benevolus, vultu hilaris, eloquio prudens, operibus largus, ingenio fœcundus, merentium consolator, pupillonum et inopum enutritor: et, ut generaliter comprehendam, omnium virtutum floribus adornatus."—*Anastasius Bib. Vit. Steph. V.*

by which every green thing was devoured, had been added to the never ending persecutions of the Saracens and of the petty tyrants, who had already commenced to lord it over the country, and to flourish and wax arrogant and mighty by force of the self-same causes which brought down their country to ruin. What wonder then that it was to this shining light of the sanctuary, the Romans of every order turned, with one accord, as to a saviour. The voices of the bishops, of the clergy, of the senators, the nobles, and the people, were all joined in the acclamations which hailed the name of Cardinal Stephanus, "the worthy priest of God," as the omen of deliverance from so many and such grievous calamities.

"Then, one and all," continues the biographer, "with John the venerable bishop of Pavia and the ambassadors of the Emperor Carolus, to whom Pope Hadrian, when going into Æmilia where he died, had left in charge of the city, they came to where Stephen was praying in his father's palace; and *breaking open the portals*—fractis foribus—they seize him, carry him, notwithstanding all his resistance (in which his father joined him) to his own title of the Quatuor Coronatorum; and there forming in solemn procession proceed to the Lateran. The rain which began to pour down in torrents before they reached the church, refreshing the parched and thirsty earth, was hailed as an earnest and emblem of the blessings his pontificate was to secure for his people—as scorched with suffering as was the

ground with the long protracted drought and burning heat.

In St. Peter's on the following Sunday, the consecration of the Pope elect took place with the usual solemnity, but when on taking possession of the patriarchal palace of the Lateran, he came to inquire after the sacred ornaments and other precious objects of various kinds which appertained to the state of the Pontiff, whether in the palace or in the public offices of religion, how deplorable were the traces which were revealed to his sight, of such visitations as that made by Lambert of Spoleti, and Adelbert. The pillage had been well nigh complete. Even the granaries and cellars had been emptied. This investigation Pope Stephen had directed to prevent the scandal of this spoliation from reflecting a stigma upon his reign. It was no slight alleviation of his grief on witnessing such scenes of rapine, to find that the famous gold crucifix which in ancient times had been offered at the shrine of St. Peter by Belisarius had escaped."*

Behold another and a deplorable symptom of the disorders growing out of the Saracenic invasions, and already beginning even in the great stronghold and capital of order and discipline, to destroy every bond of restraint, to foment a passion for rapine; thus subjecting society to the law of the strongest. "The pestilent custom," says Baronius, "had already commenced of giving up to pillage the patri-

* "Crux antem aurea illa famosissima quam Belisarius patricius in honorem beati principis Apostolorum Petri instituit."—*Ib.*

archal palace of the Lateran, on each Pontiff's decease." In proof of this, the Cardinal refers to the acts of a Synod held not long after under John IX.

Nothing better calculated than this to irreparably damage the cause of progress and religion could be well imagined; for as we have seen by so many incidents connected with the lives of the Popes for the last two centuries, the patriarchate of the Lateran was not so much a palace as a great university over which the Pontiff for the time being presided. There was the celebrated Schola Cantorum, and the other colleges connected with the various branches of study and ecclesiastical training. One single fact is conclusive as to the high merit of this papal university, and of the incalculable mischiefs which must have directly flowed from its resources being thus destroyed, and its precincts, ever and anon, converted into an arena of robbery and havoc—it was the Alma mater of every one of the Popes who had shone on the throne of St. Peter, from the opening of the 8th century, for certain, and very probably from long previous even to that date, down to the period at which we are now arrived—a succession of princes, extending over two hundred years and upwards, for whom no parallel is to be found in the records of any country; whether we view them as potentates controlling and directing the destinies not of their own States alone but of so many semi-barbarous nations, or as individuals distinguished for the most eminent and useful virtues.

"What," continues the biographer, "was Pope

Stephen to do, on finding the Lateran stripped of all its resources? He turned to the wealth possessed by his illustrious parents, and with open-handed liberality—"largâ dextrâ"—provided for the necessities of the distressed; and thus, through the mercy of heaven, his exertions assuaged the famine. He brought around him, from wherever they could be discovered, the persons who were most eminent for sanctity of life, for purity of faith, for learning, for eloquence, and for probity of morals. He never dined without having around him a number of orphans, whom he nourished like a fond father. At such times he also loved to invite the nobility, and while feasting them with earthly viands, their minds and souls' refection he provided for by a conversation breathing the love and fear of God, and by passages recited, either from the Fathers of the Church or from the sacred writings, while they were at table. The solemnities of the mass he celebrated daily, except when debarred from doing so by attending to the people who cried to him for redress in their many trials and sufferings from the wrong-doer and from famine."

He next set about discovering some remedy for the scourge of the locusts. Coming in clouds during the reign of his predecessor Hadrian III. they had settled down on the whole face of the land; no leaf, or blade of grass or corn escaped their voracity. Touched with compassion at the miseries of his afflicted people, he first tried the effect of offering a reward of a few denarii for each measure,

called a sextarius, filled with locusts brought in by the people. This and all other human means availing nought to rid the land of the scourge, the holy father flew to the mercy of the Lord, and entering the oratory of St. Gregory hard by St. Peter's, where is the saint's bed, he there gave himself up to prayer, amidst floods of tears. And after he had prayed for a long time, he rose up, and blessing water with his own hands, gave orders to the officers called mansionarii saying, "Take of this water, and distributing it amongst the people, tell them to take it round about their fields in the name of the Lord, sprinkling therewith their crops and their vineyards —sata et vineas—imploring all the time the concession of aid from on high." Through the mercy of the omnipotent God, such was the happy success attendant on these endeavours, that this remedy was sought for as effectual from all the surrounding countries.*

Our limits oblige us to pass over the other transactions of this reign; and, amongst the rest, an account—as Cardinal Baronius conjectures from the pen of Anastasius—of Pope Stephen's researches in

* A very lively description of a visitation of locusts, similar to the above, with a detailed account of the means resorted to during several years in succession for their destruction by the French government, during their occupation of the Papal States in the beginning of the present century, is given by the Count de Tournon, l. 1. p. 258—261. This description we reserve for its proper place, merely observing that the expenses entailed by the remedies amounted to 600,000 frs. besides the loss of several harvests.

the catacombs, and of the solemn translation from thence of the relics of the martyrs.* We conclude with some extracts from one of the exhortations which it was usual for the Pontiff to address to the people every time he celebrated the solemn mass. The discourse affords us a still clearer insight as to the sad effects of the anarchy and disorders consequent on the Saracenic invasions in relaxing that discipline for which the Romans had been so distinguished, previously to those disastrous occurrences. The reporter of the sermon says:

"Having noticed the disorderly behaviour of the people, and their blindness of heart displayed in their profanely conversing in the Church upon idle and sinful topics of every kind; and having learned by public report that some were given to the use of wicked charms and incantations, the most holy Pope Stephen, celebrating the holy sacrifice thus addressed himself to the people:—

"We have to admonish you, dearest children, that, in assembling within the most sacred temple of God, you be mindful to diligently attend to that which brings you here; for, if with lively faith you believe it to be the temple of God, that belief ought to be manifest by your deportment in it. Though the Lord is present everywhere, He is in an especial manner present in his temple; there, it is his will, that we resort to him in prayer, and there his graces and mercies are poured out, not on the un-

* Apud Surium, Die. 17, Jan. t. i.

grateful, but on all who approach with piety, and in proportion to the fervour of each—as He has said: "*many sins are forgiven her, because she hath loved much.*"* For the temple of God is the place of prayer, as He says in another place: "*my house is a house of prayer to all nations;*"† and the Psalmist: "*Sanctity, O Lord, becometh thy house.*"‡ Now, if it be the house of prayer, it ought to be used as such—to pray, to chant the Divine praises, to confess our sins, to cancel by bitter tears and groans of contrition our offences; and with firm hope to implore the forgiveness of our transgressions; because in the temple is found, in a special manner, the mercy-seat; there are, assisting the orders of angelic spirits, the choirs of the saints who present before the Lord of Hosts the vows of the people and the suffrages of the priest, when at the altar he supplicates for the faithful.

"With what face, therefore, can he dare to present himself in the most holy temple of the Almighty, who only comes to profane it by his garrulity and absurd fables? For if on the judgment day, an account shall be rendered for every idle word; how much more rigorously will not that judgment be exacted for such discourses, contumaciously carried on in the sight of so many saints, and in a place specially consecrated to God? With what hope of pardon for past transgressions can they approach the Almighty who come before Him only to add to

* Luke vii. † Matth. ‡ Ps. xci.

their account by perpetrating new ones? Tremble at the chastisement of Him who with a scourge drove out those who bought and sold from the temple; for less guilty was their conduct who there carried on a traffic of things in themselves useful, than is that of Christians who gratuitously insult the Divine presence by their absurd nonsensical garrulity and scandalous bandying of stories?

"When ye assemble in the place of prayer, remain in a recollected silence, the heart intent on entreaty to God, that the suffrages offered up for you by the priest, may be accepted by Him, and that his prayers may be heard—having ever in mind the admonition of our Lord, "when you come to prayer, forgive those who may have offended you, that your heavenly Father may forgive you your offences."* Meditating such things as these; through the inspirations of Divine grace, and being imbued with the doctrines of the Apostles and Evangelists (proclaimed to them during the celebration of mass), having first of all obtained mercy from the Almighty with the fruit of good works, like lamps illuminating the sanctuary round about, you will merit to be hereafter presented to Christ in the realms of joy, and to be there crowned in the company of the saints.

"For the rest, most dearly beloved, we wish you to be aware that the Lord in instituting the law for his people, as Moses testifies, enjoined this ordinance, saying; "*The sorcerer you shall not suffer to live.*"†

* Vid. Sermon on the Mount. † Exodus xxii.

Now it grieves me to say that in this city there are some who not only do not reprehend, but who on the contrary encourage and patronize the abandoned persons who dread not by abominable incantations to consult devils, regardless of the doctrine thundered in their ear by the Apostle: "What participation of light with darkness, or what agreement of Christ with Belial?" For inasmuch as contemning Christ, they turn after the custom of the Gentiles to take counsel of demons, they by all means avow themselves not to be Christians. And how execrable, how impious it is, turning one's back on Christ to offer homage to demons, we leave you, beloved children, to ponder in your own breasts, that the thought of it may transfix you with horror.

"Wherefore, whosoever from henceforth shall be found to pollute himself with this pestilence, by judgment of the Holy Ghost we pronounce an outcast from the vivifying body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and if any one shall be found to set these salutary admonitions at defiance—treating them with contempt, and incorrigibly persisting in this pestiferous enormity—let him be anathema, for ever, from God the Father and from His Son Christ Jesus."*

* This translation is throughout as strictly literal as we could make it. Besides the clear and instructive light it affords us as to the doctrines it was customary with the Popes of that age to enforce in their sermons to the people; it also shews us how comparatively innocent and exempt from the profligacy of modern ages were the Romans of that day. Conversing in the temple of God and having recourse to sorcerers—grievously criminal as

The biography goes on to tell how whatever he could command was expended by this holy and great Pope in repairing and adorning the churches, in redeeming the victims of the Saracenic invasions, which ceased not but grew more irresistible and cruel from year to year; and how, attracted by the fame of his virtues, there came from the east and from the west vast multitudes to Rome to obtain his blessing. The clergy of Saint Peter's were strictly prohibited by this Pontiff from accepting of the smallest gratuity from those who availed themselves of their ministry. In this regulation he only renewed the laws of his predecessors, particularly of Marinus II. That Pope Stephen V. was called to his reward, in A. D. 890, is certain, but on what day or in what month, we know not—his biography being mutilated towards the end, and no other source having as yet been brought to light from which it is possible to determine with precision the time of his death.*

The Liber Pontificalis, that is to say, the Lives of the Popes composed for the most part by contem-

are such sins—would not, we opine, even in this age of evangelical enlightenment, be found at the head of the list of crimes which a Christian preacher, like Pope Stephen V. addressing himself to the inhabitants of *the greatest city of the age*, would have to denounce.

* "Le Saint et excellent Pape Etienne V., que nous sommes étonnés de ne pas voir compté parmi les plus Saints Pontifes de l'eglese Romaine."—*Rohrbacher*, t. xii. l. 59. p. 442. This expression of astonishment is certainly not uncalled for.

porary writers and from the most authentic sources closes with the notices just now given of Stephen V. So long as the light has shone fully and clearly on their lives and actions, they are found to be such as to extort praise even from the bitterest foes of the Papacy. "The lives of the Popes," says Sismondi, "have been written by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (?) to the death of Nicholas I., in the year 867; the lives of some other Pontiffs have been added by another librarian Guilelmus. This history, detailed as it is, in general redounds to their honour."* It is not until the darkest of the "Dark Ages" sets in that writers of the Sismondi stamp can strike at the Popes to their heart's content; and we shall find that even then, the less are they open to such assaults, the more additional light is let in upon their lives.†

* "Cette histoire—assez détaillée—est, en general, HONORABLE POUR EUX."—Hist. des Rep. Ital. &c. t. i. p. 93, 94. Bruxelles, 1838.

† "Le scandale de leur conduite ne commença guère qu' avec le dixième siècle."—*Ib.*

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

INSTEAD of unfolding the history of the States of St. Peter, by following, as hitherto, the series of those venerable Pontiffs who succeeded him in his apostolic office and authority, it is through the dynasty of brutal, profane, and blood-thirsty tyrants, who laid sacrilegious hands on his throne, and who for well nigh a century and a-half, endeavoured by every species of outrage and violence to make of it the sport of the most detestable passions, that we shall have henceforward in grief and indignation, to search out that history, groping our way amidst uproar, and gloom, and horrors the most revolting, rather than pursuing it cheerfully, and surrounded by light—as in the ages which have preceded, and in those which are to follow. This is pre-eminently the darkest epoch since the commencement of the Christian era; it is also the most strongly characterised by the triumph of brutal licentiousness and force over canonical discipline; of all that the "world" prizes most, over all that is dearest to that church,

to which it was foretold by its Founder, that the world would "hate it."

The period is one of anarchy throughout; so far, however, as our subject is concerned, it divides itself, more or less distinctly, into three epochs. The first embraces the period, from A. D. 888 to A. D. 962; the second, the period, from A. D. 962 to A. D. 1000; and the third, the first half of the 11th century. To enable the reader to form a correct idea of the first period as to its general character, the most satisfactory course, perhaps, will be, to set before him the remarks which drop from Muratori, as he labours through the dark labyrinth from year to year. Muratori, we need not add, is the prince of authorities, so far as a knowledge of its documentary sources, for whatever regards the mediæval history of Italy.

An. 888. *La Storia d'Italia è qui imbrogliato non poco.** Such is the characteristic feature of the year 888, the opening year,†—"not a little embroiled—involved in disorder and obscurity," he says, "is the history of Italy during that year." The country, he adds, was devoured by the Saracens. They have settled on an eminence near the Garigliano river, in a permanent encampment, *Divoravano tutti i contorni.*

* P. 280.

† This year died Charles the Fat, great-grandson of Charlemagne! and, strictly speaking, the last emperor of the Carlovingian dynasty.

An. 889, Guido, duke of Spoleti, (the congenial successor of his brother Lambert the Brigand), and Berenger duke of Friuli wage war for the crown of Italy and the title of emperor—*Bella horribilia, cladesque nefandissimas.* Wars of the most horrible description, they were, and marked by massacres, the most detestable and fatal. The way is opened by these intestine wars for the Hungarians, who soon after rush down on Italy, to destroy whatever has escaped the Saracens. We shall see, by and by, that they were not less ferocious or terrible than when their forefathers acquired for Attila the title of the "Scourge of God."

An. 890. Petty tyrants multiply. Further on the import of these three words will be more evident.

An. 891. Duke Guido crowned emperor.

An. 892. Takes his son, Lambert, soon after, as his associate in the empire. Lambert the younger was but a mere boy at that time. As simple duke of Spoleti, Guido had quite as much power as when he and his son were emperors. In Lombardy, Berenger of Friuli had assumed the title of King of Italy. "The bloody conflicts, marked by rage and cruelty, which were carried on by these three potentates reduced the fairest regions of Italy," says Muratori, "to a desolate state."*—Pope Formosus, in a letter to the then archbishop of Rheims, says

* "La nemiciza e guerra de' quali si tirava dietro la desolazione di buona parte delle contrade Italiane."—p. 299.

that Italy, by these "horrid wars," was brought to the last gasp.*

An. 893. The wars continue. The siege of Pavia reminds one of the Homeric scenes before Troy.†

An. 894. Italy continues to be torn asunder.

An. 895. The cure proves more fatal than the disease. The ferocious Arnulph, who had invited the Hungarians to fall on Germany as Narses had of old invited the Lombards to fall on Italy, descends through the valley of the Trent to end the dispute between Guido and Berenger by taking both crowns and titles to himself. One division of his army he sent by the upper (Adriatic), the other by the lower (Tuscan) sea, and so advanced towards Rome—"sparing nothing in his march"—*omnia vastando.*‡

An. 896. In this year, we have two popes, Boniface VI. and Stephen VI.: two emperors, Lambert and Arnulph; and one king of Italy, Berenger of Friuli. Guido has been taken off suddenly, by a stroke, or by the plague. The highways, it is remarked, have become all but impassable, partly from want of repair, and partly from the lawless state of the country.§ The Saracens of the Garigliano not only "devour the country": they reduce it rapidly to a barbarous state of isolation by cutting off all inter-

* P. 303.
† P. 305.
‡ Herman Contractus, in Chron.
§ P. 320.

course between the States and the South.*—The retreat of Arnulph proves not less fatal than his descent. Hardly has his rear-guard disappeared among the Alps, when the *emperor* Lambert is again in the field. At Milan, according to Landulphus the Elder, archbishop of that city, "he committed a horrible massacre of the citizens, destroyed the palaces, the *towers* (already they have commenced to lift their heads in town and country, among the mountains and along the rivers and the plains), besides other beautiful buildings and fortifications of that noble city." This state of things goes on during the year 897, and in An. 898, an attempt is made on the life of the Emperor Lambert, by Adelbert II.† marquis of Tuscany, his own cousin-german. While Lambert was asleep, during a hunting excursion in the forest of Marengo, they sought to murder him. Highways continue insecure. Lambert the Emperor did not fall by the hand of Adelbert; but soon after, and in the same forest,‡

* "Eâ tempestate multitudo Saracenorum in Gariliano juxta Trajectum (where was the ferry or bridge) habitantes, Christianorum et præcipuè Capuanorum maximas strages dederunt."—*Chron. Vulturn.* about A.D. 900.

† Adelbert II. of Tuscany, son of Adelbert I. by Rotilda sister of Lambert and of Guido, successively dukes of Spoleti—thus Lambert the emperor, son of Guido Emp. and Adelbert II. were cousin-germans."—*Murat. an.* 898. p.335. See also p. 293 & 300.

‡ By Liutprand and an anonymous poet of the time, the unhappy prince is said to have fallen from his horse in struggling with a wild boar, and broken his neck.—"Dum apros effreni consectaretur equo, cecidisse, collumque fregisse."—*L.* 1. *cap. ult.*

while again engaged in the chase, he was murdered by one of his followers. Anarchy, crime, ignorance, and misery on the increase.

An. 899. Italy invaded and ravaged by the Hungarians.* It was their custom to spare neither age or sex. They wasted with fire and sword whatever they could not carry away. The finest cities they reduced to heaps of smouldering ruins. They were Heathens: and being possessed with the most diabolical fanaticism against every thing that appertained to religion, it was their greatest delight to desecrate and destroy the churches and monasteries, and to imbrue their hands in the blood of those who were specially consecrated to the service of Christ. Some of the accounts given by Rhegino of their doings—he had them from eye-witnesses—are of the most vividly picturesque description.

An. 900. The Hungarian ravages continue in Italy. Among their more distinguished victims was the quondam favourite of Charles the Fat, Leutward, who had been Chancellor of the Empire. He

* "An. 899. Venere Ungari in Italiam de mense Augusti, Indictione III. Octavo Kalendas Octobris junxerunt se Cristiani eis in bello ad fluvium Brentam ubi multa millia Christianorum interfecta sunt ab eis, et alios focavere, et venerunt usque ad Nonantulam, et occidere Monachos, et incenderunt monasterium, et codices multos concremavere, atque omnem depopulati sunt locum."—*Chron. Nonantul. ap. Murat. an.* 899.

"Avari, qui dicuntur Ungari, tota devastata Italia—ita ut occisis episcopis quam plurimis."—*An.* 900. p. 354.

was bishop of Vercelli. They overtook him while striving to escape with the treasures he had amassed when at court, and slew him.* As if the miseries of invasion, and of such an invasion! were not enough, at a time; those of civil war are superadded—Berenger of Friuli is battling, once more, for the *empire!* against Ludovic, king of Provence, who, being uppermost in the struggle, during An. 901, is crowned Emperor at Rome; but, in An. 902, Berenger is uppermost; and, getting hold of his rival Ludovic, causes his eyes to be plucked out of his head, or burned out of the sockets with a red-hot iron.—*This was a practice very common during the entire epoch of which we are now treating.*

An. 903. The Hungarians continue their ravages in Italy; indeed they never missed a year. They came "annually" we are told to plunder and ravage it.

An. 904. Anarchy.

An. 905. Fresh revolutions and wars.

An. 906. Berenger of Friuli, though he has put out the eyes of his rival, is not yet out of trouble himself. To help him to escape from it, *he invites the Hungarians again into Italy.*† This time nothing escaped them, except the strongholds and castles of the petty tyrants, marchiones, and counts, and castaldi of all denominations, who from their

* Mentre conduceva seco gl' immensi suoi tesori.

† "La crudelissima e pagana nation degli Ungheri scorse furiosamente l'Italia, incendiendo i luoghi, tagliando a pezzi, e menando in ischiavitù le persone."—*Muratori Ann. an.* 906. p. 25.

turrets and battlemented walls looked out with the same appetites upon the invaders at their work of havoc, as the lion is watched by the jackal, when he is feeding on the quarry which they have hunted down.*

In this dark tragedy of destruction a new band of actors are now to be introduced upon the scene—the nest of Moorish corsairs who established themselves this year, on a steep promontory of the maritime Alps, called Fraxineto—probably from the immense forests, (made all but impassable by thorny underwood) by which this eyrie was rendered hardly less impregnable on the side towards the mountains, than on that from which it overlooked the wide and beauteous expanse of the Mediterranean. The materials for the history of the Saracens of Fraxineto are complete and abound in romantic incident. These ruthless enemies of the Christian name are repeatedly on the scene during this reign of terror, but our limits will not allow of our alluding to the subject further than to say, that in the history of the Papal States during this period, they could not be passed over in silence, inasmuch as the resort of the multitudes, who were accustomed to visit Rome from all the countries beyond the Alps, was rendered perilous to the last degree, if not altogether impossible, from the chain of posts by which

* "Omnia Hungari regni loca sæviendo percurrunt. Neque erat qui eorum præsentiam, nisi munitissimis forte præstolaretur." —*Liutprand. Hist.* l. 2. c. 6.

these Saracens had occupied the entire alpine range from the passes of Coire and the San' Gothard, all round by the Great St. Bernard, or Monte Giove, (as we believe it was entitled at that time,) and Mount Cenis to the maritime path—a mere bridle-way—over which Fraxineto stood.* There is a most graphic description of how they pillaged and destroyed the monastery of Nova Lux—and how two young counts, brothers, having been first guilty of horrid crimes and ravages in the ruined place—took asylum with the corsairs at Fraxineto. There they continued to rival the infidels themselves in every enormity; until one of them, enraged at a disappointment he met with in some division of spoil and captives, deserted the place, to seek for the means of being avenged of his former hosts and associates.† When the abbot of Clugni, the pious and learned Mayeul, fell into the hands of the Saracens of Fraxineto, they exacted as his ransom the weight of himself in silver. The monks of Clugni paid it, though the venerable abbot besought them—greater than Regulus in this—to abandon him to his fate. In shaping his bow with a hatchet, the block which was used by one of the Saracens to chop it on, was a

* "An. 929. Viæ Alpium a Saracenis obsessæ, a quibus multi Romam propicisci volentes, impetiti revertuntur."—*Frodoard. ap. Murat. an.* 929.

† An. 931. Frodoard says the Greeks attacked the Saracens at Fraxineto—"unde egredientes Italiam sedulis prædabantur incursibus, Alpibus etiam occupatis." For a while afterwards the passes were secure, but not long.—*Muratori, an.* 931. p. 119.

copy—no doubt illuminated—of the Holy Scriptures, plundered from Mayeul himself, it is likely. He was witness of many similar incidents while a captive in this nest of crime.

An. 915. We return to Italy, and find that the Danish pirates also are lending a hand to the work of cruelty and destruction. The chronicle of Dandolo, as quoted by Muratori,* says this scourge was grievously felt in Italy. *Italiam graviter premunt.*

An. 916. The Saracens of the Garigliano defeated and dislodged by Pope John X.

An. 919. "Wrapped in murky darkness — *in gran bujo*—is the history of Italy," says Muratori, "at this time."† Through the gloom, however, we get sight of the terrible squadrons of the Hungarians, at their accustomed pursuits.

An. 921. An additional source of confusion and havoc is an invitation to the crown of Italy, which Rhudolph of Burgundy accepts. To enable him to make head against this fresh competitor, Berenger of Fruili *for the second time invites the Hungarians* to fall upon his opponent in Italy.

An. 924. As his allies they reduce Pavia, the then capital of the Italian kingdom, to a heap of ruins! We are told that previous to this, Pavia was surpassed only by Rome in magnificence. Berenger is stabbed in the dark by the hand of one of his favourite guards, whom he had honoured by standing godfather for his child.

* Rer. Ital. Scrip. t. xii. † P. 69.

An. 925. Wearied of endeavouring to get any good of his Italian subjects—who laughed to scorn all law and subordination, King Rhudolph, whom they had invited to be their king, is inclined to hand them over to his father-in-law, Burchard, duke of Alemagna (Switzerland) *un uomo bestiale*, as Muratori calls him: a real brute. He is slain by Hugo of Tuscany, who is then elected king. He already wore the crown of Provence. In this year also, the Huns are solicited for their services by "Albericus, the tyrant of Rome." Alberic falls in the commotions he had himself excited.

An. 926. Under king Hugo, and in addition to the Saracens in the south, the Moors of Fraxineto in the north, the Danes along the western shore, and the Hungarians everywhere, there came, in this year, from the shores of Sclavonia beyond the Adriatic, new hordes of ravagers.

An. 927. Saracens and Huns distinguished above the rest in the work of ruin.

An. 929. Alpine passes cruelly infested by the Moors of Fraxineto.

An. 930. Marked by the blackest treachery, ignorance, and immorality.

An. 931. King Hugo makes his son Lothair his colleague in the throne. He besieges Rome in 933, and in 948 is obliged to fly by the Italian princes, headed by Berengarius of Ivrea (Uri). After taking refuge in Ravenna, and failing an attempt on the part of Raymond, prince of Aquitain, to rob him

of his immense treasures, this unfortunate and wicked king—if king we can call him—is said by Frodoard to have been taken off, in the year 950, by poison, given him by the emissaries of his rival. Berenger of Ivrea, is then elected, and Berengarius II., by all accounts, was worse than Hugo.

In a word, nothing can be more graphically accurate than what is said by one of the old chroniclers, of the interval between the death of Charles the Fat, in 888, and the coronation of Otho the Great. "*Invenimus,*" he says, "*in imperio, confusè fuisse regnatum.*" It was even so. "Confusion reigned supreme."

If the only protectors of order, of the weak, and of the oppressed, in those fearful times, reclaimed, their reclamations and threats were utterly disregarded by men whose hearts had become, not to say hardened, but ferocious and exasperated by every crime, and wildest passion. They set all laws divine as well as human at defiance, at least while the delirium lasted. In the synods of the time, the prelates are heard to complain that they are on all sides surrounded by robbers; that the possessions of all men were exposed to daily destruction; that the country was laid waste, the sacred buildings plundered and consumed; the poor massacred in their very presence. Scenes of abduction and rape were constantly occurring; nor did persons of the highest rank escape the brutality of the times. Thus was ten-fold fury added to the flame of private wars, of feuds between

families. Whereupon, through the whole length and breadth of the land, there was nothing to be witnessed, but the fruits of the most horrible and sanguinary reprisals. For it was with this class of outrages as with murders: the kindred and friends were entitled to take the task of inflicting vengeance into their own hands. From one single homicide or act of dishonour, the feud often extended to hundreds of such crimes. Enormity engendered enormity. The retaliation and the reprisal outstripped the horrors that provoked them: thus were multiplied in dreadful ratio and in ever-deepening hues of guilt, these scenes of brutality, until at last whole districts, provinces, and kingdoms, were dragged into the vortex; wherein were raging all those dark and hideous passions which fire the human breast with the instincts of a devil.

That amidst such a perfect chaos, all respect for sanctity of character or profession should have been utterly lost, and that hence it should not have fared better, even with the highest in dignity in the Church, than with others, it might have been natural enough to expect. But there were passions at work in this crisis, which caused the clergy, more especially those of exalted rank, to be marked out as special objects of spoliation or vengeance. The attempts to stem the torrent of violence and injustice, by denunciations and censures, often proved fatal to those who had the heroism to perform this duty. Thus we read of the Archbishop of Rheims

being waylaid in a forest, by the retainers of Baldwin, count of Flanders, and there barbarously murdered, in A.D. 903. The chronicles record some instances too revolting to be mentioned.

But the grand incentive to violence, on the part of the princes, counts, marquises, and of all the castelans little and great, was found in the rich possessions of the monasteries, and of the episcopal sees. Thus in Otho of Frisinga, we read of Arnold, sometimes called Arnulph, duke of Bojoaria (Bavaria):—"This is Arnulph, who cruelly destroyed the churches and monasteries of Boioaria, and distributed their possessions amongst his soldiers."* With but few exceptions, the greater sees became heirlooms in the families of the princes and barons, who usurped them at this period, by force.

Sismondi says that each great lord was sure to place one of his sons in the church. The sole aim was to acquire influence and riches, and thus build up the grandeur and power of his house. Such candidates for holy orders were prepared by no sort of moral training or intellectual education. The stable, the kennel, the bower, and the forest, were the only schools in which they took degrees. While benefices or abbeys could be seized and disposed of with the strong hand, they were never at a loss to provide for their illegitimate offspring, their spies,

* "Hic est Arnulphus, qui ecclesias et monasteria Bojoariæ crudeliter destruxit, et possessiones earum militibus distribuit."—*L.* 6. *c.* 18.

and their panders. Offenders, too, whom it was not convenient to deprive of life, were frequently forced to enter the ranks of the clergy. Never was the spouse of Christ reduced to such a state of opprobrium. Instead of being left at liberty to make her own election amongst those called to that ministry, which the Apostle has said no man should dare to assume unless called to it as Aaron was:—a ministry regarded as formidable for even angels to bear: instead of being left at liberty not only to select but to discipline the candidates for the warfare of the sanctuary, and to adorn them with the knowledge and the virtues by which we saw them so brilliantly distinguished in the ages of her freedom, the refuse, and often the most impious of a most recklessly libertine and ignorant age, were either forced upon her, or of their own malice, after the example of Dathan and Abiram, usurped the altar and the high places of honour and authority. The wonder is, not that under such circumstances there should have been scandals and irregularities, but that the Church did not sink altogether beneath this torrent of brutality, that from all sides forced itself over her boundaries. Strong, indeed, must have been the evidence which obliged such a writer as Sismondi to make this remark: "It is wrong to allege as an argument against religion, the disorders of the 9th and 10th centuries, when it would have required nothing short of a miracle to purify the elements from which the clergy were taken."

The lengths to which this tyranny over the Church was carried, may be judged of by the following instance. It is but a sample of what frequently occurred.

It is recorded in the ancient history of Milan, by Arnulphus the Elder.* He tells us that Hugo the Provençal, who was elected by the Italians king of Lombardy, in A. D. 825, on finding ten years later that he could not succeed in getting his son appointed Archbishop of Milan, on account of his extreme youth, had him tonsured, and procured the election of Ardericus, from whose great age, he anticipated that a vacancy would be sure to occur by the time the youth should have come of age. The venerable Ardericus, however, continued to live on so long beyond his calculation, that, at length, impatient of the delay, he resolved on the Archbishop's death.† With this intent he was invited, and along with him the other magnates of Milan, to Pavia. There, during the royal entertainment, the retainers and courtiers of King Hugo fell upon the Archbishop and his friends. Ninety of the Milanese were murdered; but, as if by miracle, the aged prelate escaped.

Such proceedings on the part of the kings or rather tyrants, and others who were backed by force in those times, are repeatedly deplored and condemned by Muratori. They made it a practice to sell the various ecclesiastical offices for money, or

* L. i. c. 2. ap. Murat. Rer. Hist. Scr.

† "Necem illico meditatur occultam."—*Ib.*

to confer them on their minions—sometimes on laymen, who merely took up their abode in some rich and extensive abbey, and put on the costume of an abbot for form's sake. Sometimes they appointed mere children, or women.* Monastic discipline, he says, had not only become relaxed but trampled under-foot in the major part of the monasteries of Italy —(and what these monasteries were, both within themselves and in their influence on society, we have seen). This happened, he continues, especially through the fault of the princes who made merchandize of all sacred things. The canonical modes of election, whether of abbots or bishops, they tyrannically set aside, encouraging simony and conferring those offices, on which the well-being of religion so largely depended, on the most nefarious criminals, provided they only came up to their price.

Thus King Hugo, for a sum of money, appoints as Abbot of Farfa the murderer of the preceding abbot Ratfredo. This wretch, whose name was Campone, had an accomplice, one Hildebrand, who went to Pavia and paid the money to the king. The new abbot appointed Hildebrand to the richest of the cells, or subordinate monasteries. But before a year had gone over their heads, these precious monks, both noblemen, are at open war, with bands of armed men on either side. In the first onset success is with Hildebrand, for he has taken into pay the banditti and free bands of Camerino. He carries

* Ann. an. 939. p. 149—150, and pp. 215—216.

the monastery of Farfa by storm. Campone, however, wins over, by treasures distributed amongst them, the marauders who had fought and secured the victory for his rival. That rival is expelled, and this villain Campone, steeped in crimes, is once more the abbot of Farfa.

Another instance to shew how it fared with the Church under King Hugo.

"At this time," says the Chronicle of Farfa (an. 939), "there were savage wars between Ascerius and Sarilo contending to see which should have the March of Firmo. Sarilo slew Ascarius and obtained the March. On this King Hugo broke out into great fury against Sarilo, and pursued him with vengeance, for Ascarius was the King's brother. Sarilo was driven to the last straits in a small place in Tuscany, where he had taken refuge: and finding he could hold out no longer, he put on the cowl of a monk, and with a halter about his neck came out from the town-gate, just at the dawn of the morning, and threw himself at the feet of the king. The king moved to compassion, forgave him the murder of his brother, *and placed him over all the royal monasteries within the confines of Tuscany and the March of Firmo.* All the abbots submitted to Sarilo (their new general!) except Hildebrand—(whom we have seen at Pavia paying for his abbacy in hard cash to King Hugo). He was accordingly attacked in the castle of St. Victoria, and forced to surrender it. Hildebrand returned, having recruited his forces,

attacked the castle, and compelled the new abbot ignominiously to retire. He returned, however, to the charge, and with success, the second time."*

We find, too, from an occasional glimpse into the royal closets, where, in these offices and dignities of his Church, the Redeemer, as when he was on earth, was again bought and sold, that as the tyrants haggled about the price, they also dealt in oaths and blasphemies. The see of Verona falling vacant, the monk Raterio was elected and had his bulls of institution from Rome, King Hugo acquiescing in the hope that Raterio would be prevented by his many infirmities from ever entering on possession of the see. Disappointed in this hope, "his wrath burst forth," writes the same Raterio, "he swore *per Deum*,—and this oath he kept, that long as he lived, I should never enjoy the rights of my ordination. Then stipulating some paltry sum I was to receive, he insisted on my binding myself by oath never, during his reign or that of his son, to claim the property belonging to the see of Verona." To this the bishop would not consent, knowing, as he expresses it, *quanta absurditas ex hoc sequeretur.*†

* Chron. Farf. p. 475.

† "Iratissimus redditur (Hugo) : JURAVIT PER DEUM (nec est mentitus) quod diebus vitæ suæ, de ipsa ordinatione non essem gravisurus, misit ergo in pitaciolo certam quantitatem stipendii, quod tenerem de rebus ecclesiæ, de cæteris exigens jusjurandum, ut diebus illius, filiique sui, amplius non requirerem," &c.—*Rater. in Ep. ad Johan. Pap. ap Murat.* Ann. an. 932. p. 125.

The petty princes and nobles were, each in his sphere, not less given to this sacrilegious oppression. We have seen the Lamberts, and Adelberts, and Guidos—Marchiones of Tuscany and Spoleti—classed in the same category with Saracens by John VIII., for their ravaging the territories of St. Peter, and in every way persecuting the Church. We have John, bishop of Cremona, complaining in a letter to Rhudolph of Ivrea that the Hungarians themselves have not proved a greater scourge to his diocese than the lawless nobles. He implores help for his church, *a Paganis, et quod magis est dolendum a pessimis Christianis desolatam.*

CHAPTER II.

WHILE such was the aspect of Italy and of the West generally, how fared it with the States of the Church, and with Rome?

We learn from Frodoard that St. Foulk, archbishop of Rheims, had letters from Pope Formosus, in A.D. 903, in which the Pontiff describes the state of affairs as disastrous in the extreme. "He calls on the prelate to shew his sympathy with the Roman Church, and to hasten thither in order to lend his aid in saving it from impending ruin."* And certainly matters have not mended when, under the year 900, Cardinal Baronius writes as follows: "Behold us entered on a new century, an age which is wont to be called the age of iron, by reason of its ferocity and barrenness of virtue; the age of lead, by reason of its being deformed by almost unmitigated evil; and the dark age, from its being destitute of writers." The Cardinal having then compared the condition of the Church amidst this fearful waste of crime and violence to that of the ark tossed to and fro on the waters of the Deluge, concludes that

* "Monet eum compati debere Romanæ Ecclesiæ, *atque imminenti ejus subvenire ruinæ.*"—*Frodoard. in Falcon.* l. iv. c. 2.

the fact of its not having perished is a striking fulfilment of the promise made to St. Peter, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it."* He says, that of all the dangers and trials through which the Church had already passed, whether during the Pagan persecutions, or in the after conflicts with the heretics, none were to be compared to those which were now before it. "How opprobrious," he continues, "were the things it had to suffer in every shape most odious and ignominious! The execrable and impious outrages and insults of which the Apostolic See was made the object, are beyond belief."†

It is agreed on all hands, as well by those who are enemies as by those who are friendly to the Roman Church, that the chief actors in this tragedy of horrors were the Counts of Tusculum and the Cenci; but every thing is so dark and bereft of order or consecutiveness, in the scanty records of the age, that it is next to impossible to bring out the separate characters into a distinct light, or to assign events to their proper causes or authors. Our eagerness was, on this account, the greater to examine an unedited history of the Counts of Tusculum, which is frequently referred to in the notes to the Roman edition of Muratori's annals. The reader will be better pleased, perhaps, that we should give him, instead of any words of our own on the subject, what is said in a letter concerning this MS. of the

* Matt. ch. 16. † Ann. Eccl. Baronii. an. 900. n. 1.

Vatican, from a friend who kindly took the trouble to look it over, and make the extracts which we shall have presently to make use of.

"The MS. of Mgr. Galletti is entitled, *De' Conti Tusculani Trattato Storico appoggiato ad' antichissimi documenti, ove delle famiglie Stephaneschi, Normanni, Papareschi, corredato con un appendice di cento documenti inediti, Vól.* 3."

"It begins with Alberic, senator or prince of Rome, who died about the year 925. I got over more than 100 pages which brought me to the final destruction of Tusculum, at the close of the 12th century. The descendants of Alberic, or rather of his famous wife Maroza, are variously styled princes, senators, or TYRANTS OF ROME; but once or twice I saw the title Conti Tusculani also applied to them. They were at the head of several schismatical proceedings."

As for any new or interesting light, it is proved unfortunately by the extracts, which extend over the entire period referred to, that this MS. adds but little to what has been long since known and published. Of Alberic, it says, that he was undoubtedly of a powerful Roman family.

"In the beginning of the civil wars commencing in 888, between the two great dukes of Spoleti and Friuli, Berenger and Guido, for the crown of Lombardy and the title of Emperor, Alberic I. was but a needy soldier of fortune. The conflict had not long

continued when he sprung into sudden wealth, and into the titles and estates of Marquis of Camerino or of Spoleti, for in that age they were but one. But he is upbraided, by the contemporary writer abovementioned, with having purchased all this by the blackest crimes. He passed from the side of Guido to that of the Duke of Friuli. His treasures and titles, it is the opinion of Muratori, he was indebted for, to having imbrued his hands in the blood of his friend.* His son, Alberic II. who succeeded him as 'tyrant or prince of Rome,' was born on the Aventine, so that either on that famous hill was his ancestral palace, or he had, after gaining the mastery over the city, a fortress there.

"Alberic I. had for wife the famous Maria, commonly called Maroza (to express how odious was this woman). Maroza was daughter of Teodora, of whom were born besides our Maroza, another Teodora, who was mother of another Maroza, and of Stefania. In the year 925, which was the last of Alberico 'senator or prince of Rome,' Maroza, his widow, is in possession of the mole of Hadrian, more commonly known as the Fortress of Sant' Angelo.

"Very soon after the death of Alberic, in the same year 925—Maroza gave her hand in marriage to Guido, duke and marquis of Tuscany, to whom she may be said to have brought as her dowry the do-

* Ann. an. 910. p. 35, 36.

minion of Rome itself.* In A.D. 928, by secret plot between Guido and Maroza, his spouse, a great number of cut-throats forcibly entered the Lateran palace, and there seizing on Pietro, the brother of the then reigning Pontiff, John X., stabbed him to death in the Pope's presence. The Pontiff himself they tore away from the palace, and thrust into a dungeon of Sant' Angelo, where after a few days, he died of grief. In the year following, Guido also died.

"It is certain," continues the MS. "that of her first marriage with Alberico, Maroza had four sons, John, who became Pope, the eleventh of that name: Alberic, (of whom much is to be said hereafter): Sergius, bishop of Nepi, and Costanzo, or Constantine. Maroza, after the death of Guido, duke and marquis of Tuscany, got married to a third husband, Hugo, king of Italy, who was uterine brother of the deceased Guido. Soon after this third marriage of his mother, which was in 932, it happened one day, as young Alberic was pouring water on the hands of king Hugo, before reclining at the banquet, or in rising from it, that the king, his step-father, struck him for maladroitness in this office. The youth, fired at this indignity, went forth and so roused the passions of the Romans—or more probably of his father's ancient followers—that they flew to

* "Impadronita della mole Adriana, si rimarito con Guido duca e marchese di Toscana; cui si puo dire che portesse in dote il dominio di Roma istessa."—*MS. Vat.*

arms; proclaimed Alberico the younger, their prince and lord; and laying siege to Sant' Angelo, compelled king Hugo to an ignominious flight.* As is attested by Frodoard, in the Chronicle of Rheims, l. 4, c. 24, and in his Lives of the Popes, the better to secure his dominion, young Alberic threw both his mother and his brother, Pope John XI. into prison."†

How he used his power one instance will suffice to shew:—

Romanus, the Emperor of Constantinople, having appointed his son Theophylact, a eunuch, to be Patriarch of that city, sent messengers with costly presents to Alberic (whose cupidity was well known to him) that by this means he might obtain the Papal letters, authorizing, not Theophylact alone, but his successors also, to assume the pallium without

* The speech of Albericus to the Romans, as it is given by Liutprand ran thus:—

"Romanæ urbis dignitas ad tantam est stultitiam ducta, ut meretricem etiam imperio pareat. Quid enim fœdius, quidve turpius, quam ut unius mulieris incestui Romana civitas pareat? *Romanorum aliquando servi*, scilicet Burgundiones, Romanis imperent? Si meam, previgni scilicet sui, faciem cœcidit, cum præsertim novus habeatur hospes, quid vobis jam inveteratum facturum creditis?"—*Hist.* l. 3. c. 12.

† "An. 933, Missi Rhemensis ecclesiæ Giso et Amalricus Rama redeuntes, pallium Artaldo præsuli deferunt, nuntiantque, Joannem Papam filium Mariæ, quæ et Marozia dicitur, sub custodia detineri a fratre suo nomine Alberico, qui matrem quoque suam clausam servabat, et Romam contra Hugonem Regem tenebat."—*Frodoard ap. Baron. An.* 933.

awaiting as heretofore the permission of Rome. "Since which sordid transaction the custom has prevailed not only for the patriarchs but for all the Greek bishops to use the Pallium."*

"Alberico adunque continuava ad essere TIRANNO DI ROMA.†—Alberic, therefore, having repulsed King Hugo, imprisoned Maroza his mother, and his brother, the Pope, continued to be tyrant or lord of Rome. He lived until about the year 990."‡

This is a mistake. Alberic II. died before the year 960, and was succeeded in his usurpation by his son Octavian, of whom we shall have but too much to say hereafter.

The materials are now before the reader from which he can form his own opinion of the anarchy that reigned supreme, with hardly any check or mitigation, during this "dark," this "iron," this "leaden" age.

* "Romanus Imp. filium suum Theophylactum eunuchum patriarcham constituit, cumque eum Alberici cupiditas non lateret, missis eo muneribus satis magnis, effecit, ut ex Papæ nomine Theophylacto patriarchæ litteræ mitterentur, quarum auctoritate tum ipse, tum successores, absque Paparum permissu palliis uterentur." &c.—*Luitpr. ap. Baron.* an. 934. n. 1.

† MS. Vat.

‡ "Ora Alberico vuolsi che mancasse di vita circa l'anno 990; e convengono li scrittori che sequita le di lui morte, i Romani elegessero in loro patrizio un Crescenzo, uomo pure potentissimo." —*MS. Vat.* In some instances Alberic is styled, in the MS. COMES TUSCULANUS.

When speaking of Charlemagne, we said it was his singular glory, not so much to have *conquered and established an empire, as to have laid* THE FOUNDATIONS OF EUROPEAN SOCIETY. During the respite of an entire century and upwards which he won from the chaos, in which, until his times, the entire West was overwhelmed, all that had survived the then comparatively recent destruction of the ancient Roman world was gathered up, and gradually became incorporated with the new order of things—the Barbaric-Romanze world—which, between the Pontiffs and himself, they had succeeded in founding. The arts, the studies, the institutions, which constitute the substance and life of society, and on which its existence is incomparably more dependent than on the administration of any public authority—these were all industriously cultivated during the lapse of more than 100 years of security and peace; they were carried in many instances to a degree of perfection which frequently takes us by surprise in investigating the muniments of that period. There then took place a complete reconstruction of society on a new model; and that solid basis remained after every thing in the shape of government was swept away, and wrecked utterly, by all the elements of confusion let loose and left, as we have seen, to exhaust their fury in all sorts of havoc, crime, and destructiveness. Out of this weltering chaos we are to see rising, ere long, a new world of society in the West, full of activity,

variety of aspect, enthusiasm, faith, evangelical piety, and chivalry: we are to see it emerging in such exuberance of renewed vitality, and in such freshness and diversity of charms as remind one of the valley of the Nile in all its glory, after the fertilizing inundation has passed away.

But so far as the Carlovingian world was a system depending on subordination to any central authority, or obedience to any law but that of the strongest, it has been shattered to pieces. It is broken into we know not how many independencies. Most vain is it to set about counting them by those only—numerous as they are—who have assumed the crown and title of royalty; for in his stronghold and its circuit, every count and petty noble who can rally a troop of brigands round him is a king—a perfect autocrat and uncontrolled tyrant, so far as his blood-red arm can reach. "Powerful," as has been aptly said of them, "only in a parish or over a village—but all powerful there."* The whole face of the West is bristling with their castles; above all they abound in Italy: we shall find that in this distinction also the Seven-hilled city still maintains her supremacy. Thus there is no spot but has its tyrant, a ravager, an invader of every-day. A scourge that never ceases to be brandished above the victim, except when it falls heavily upon his quiver-

* "Pouissants seulment autour d'eux, mais tout puissants autour d'eux."—*Victor Hugo.*

ing flesh. But we have seen that to this are to be added, as elements of confusion and misery: first, feudal wars—that is, wars between families and their confederates—growing out of murder, rape, arson, pillage, multiplied an hundred fold by retaliation and reprisal; secondly, civil wars between rival pretenders, such as Berenger of Friuli, Guido of Spoleti, with the Lamberts, Hugos, Arnulphs, and a host of others, by whom we have seen the work of havoc, and waste, and enormity of the blackest dye urged forward, until in that paradise, the air of events becomes infernal. Then, there are the apostles of Mahomet, the Saracens, laying waste the homes and sanctuaries of the land, or belcaguering it along the Alpine passes and the valleys of the Apennine,—their scimitars thirsting for Christian blood, their quivers charged with death, even for the swiftest fugitive. But the greatest terror of all remains behind—the Hungarians returning, year after year, more infallibly than the vintage or the harvests which they came to destroy.

"In their annual excursions," says Gibbon, "from the Alps to the neighbourhood of Rome and Capua, the churches that yet escaped resounded with a fearful litany. 'Oh! save and deliver us from the arrows of the Hungarians!'"*

Never was the bark of St. Peter so tempest-tossed, or so often on the point of being swallowed up, as amidst this wide waste of horrors, covered

* Ch. 58.

with the floating wrecks of order, of law—in a word, of all merely human institutions; and in which society, with all its hopes and principles of future development and progress, lies submerged. Before the abysses of confusion were thus broken up, and that the flood-gates of invasion were let loose, as it were from the four winds of heaven,—Saracens, Normans of every race, Moors, Hungarians—how majestic was the aspect of the Church; with what honour, and glory, and riches, and influence of every description was not the Apostolic See surrounded? This we have beheld and have had all sorts of opportunities of testing. But it is a Divine proverb, that, "where the body is, there shall the eagles be gathered."—Everywhere there was a rushing and a struggle between the most profligate and the strongest, to see who should burst soonest over the fences of the sanctuary, to pillage it of its ornaments, to profane its sanctity, and to make merchandize of its honours and of its most hallowed mysteries and functions. Hence supreme in wealth and in dominion, as she was in authority, and holiness, and renown, it was but natural that the Roman Church should have become supreme in her misfortunes, and in the scandals and profanations of which, during this most terrific crisis of the Christian era, she became the victim. "The greatest monsters of cruelty and injustice during that period," says Cardinal Baronius, "tyrannically arrogated to themselves the election of the Roman Pontiffs. And, oh shame! oh heart-

break!" he continues, "what monsters did they not force upon that throne of the Apostle, which angels regard with reverence! What woes originated from this source; what dark and bloody tragedies? Alas! alas! the age, in which it was reserved for the spouse purchased by the Redeemer in his blood, the spouse without stain or blemish, to be so defiled with the filth thrown upon her, as to be made (like her Divine founder) the object of scorn, and the laughing-stock of her enemies."*

*"Tyranni sævissimi arrogaverunt sibi tyrannice electionem Romanorum Pontificum. Quot tunc ab eis, proh pudor! proh dolor! in eandem sedem Angelis reverendam, visu horrenda intrusa sunt monstra? Quot ab eis oborta sunt mala, consummatæ tragediæ? Quibus tunc ipsam sine maculâ et sine rugâ contigit aspergi sordibus, putoribus infici, inquinari spurcitiis; ex hisque perpetua infamia denigrari."—*Baron.* an. 900. n. 3.

CHAPTER III.

That it is not until the reign of Formosus the scandals of the Papacy begin, is on all hands admitted. The Pontiffs who previously to his accession have sat in the chair of Saint Peter, during the immense series of nine hundred years, are allowed by all whose opinion has weight with historical scholars, to have proved themselves by their virtues, the benefits conferred by them on their species, and by their extraordinary moral and intellectual qualifications, to have been not unworthy of the Prince of the Apostles, to whom they succeeded. In no single instance, has even an accusation been brought against the purity of any one of them. After setting forth the charge made by Liutprand against the unfortunate Sergius III.—of whom more hereafter—the accomplished and censorious Fleury makes this remark: "Est le premier pape que je trouve chargè d'un tel reproche."* As for the charges of "ambition," "intrigue," "usurpation," and "fomenting rebellion," brought against such Pontiffs as Saint Gregory the Great, and Saint Gregory II., we

* L. 54. n. 42.

have seen what they are worth. Vigilius, at first, intruded by the Court of Byzantium, exculpated himself, as we saw in a former chapter, from having been in any way accessory to the outrages offered to his martyred predecessor, Silverius; and, after the death of that Pontiff, was recognized at Rome, and by the universal Church, as legitimate successor of the Apostle; nor were his after life and actions unworthy of the sublime office which he filled. Into the debates as to the merits of John VIII., praised as he is by some and blamed by others, we think it the less necessary to enter, as we were diffuse in placing quotations from his letters and from other documents connected with his pontificate before the reader, thus enabling each one to form his own estimate of his character. He was thrown upon dire and troublous times, when the fiercest passions were at work. His entire reign was a life and death struggle; and if he *seemed* to falter in the great affair of the Greek Church, or has penned some sentences that jar with the meekness and abhorrence of blood, which are attributes of the charge with which he was invested; in fine, if, as Giannone asserts, he led his people to battle and to victory against the Saracens, it is not precipitately or without calmly reflecting on the circumstances by which this Pontiff was surrounded, that sentence is to be pronounced against him; more especially when it is remembered that we have no consecutive or adequate history of his times.

After all that has been done to render the materials for it complete, there are still a great many lacunes to be filled up and doubts dispelled.

With such exceptions as these, all in the first 900 years of the Papacy is refulgent with the virtues of the Apostleship: with the most sublime and beneficent achievements. There is nothing in the annals of humanity to be compared with the spectacle it presents. The Popes of these first nine centuries, generally speaking, have been inscribed in the list of the Saints—that is, they have been solemnly held up by the Church as models of evangelical perfection; as disciples, who after the example of the Apostles and martyrs, have walked faithfully and perseveringly in their divine Master's footsteps.

Justly, therefore, may it be a subject of unfeigned astonishment, that, all of a sudden, from the opening to the close of this epoch of anarchy, the successors of such a dynasty should all be bad. Is it possible that there were no good Popes during the 10th century? Was there nothing to assuage the grief or moderate the lamentations of that glorious son of the Roman Church, the great Cardinal Baronius, whom we have seen weeping like another Jeremias over the ruin of the sanctuary, and denouncing the "abomination of desolation" that has invaded the holy place?

As we set out with stating, we shall divide this

epoch of anarchy into three periods, because the course of events has manifestly so divided it.

In the first, the worst period of the three, *viz.* from the demise of the venerable Pope Stephen VI., A.D. 890, to the revival of the imperial dignity in the person of Otho the Great, A.D. 962—not including John XII., of whom we shall have to treat separately, and who was a disgrace to Christianity as well as to the Papacy, there are twenty names in the list of the Pontiffs—Formosus, Stephen VI., a Pope, Gelasius, according to Fleury, according to Platina, Christophorus: Theodore I., Romanus I., John IX., Benedict IV., Leo V., Christophorus, Sergius III., Anastasius IV., Landon I., John X., Leo VI., Stephen VII., John XI., Leo VII., Stephen VIII., Marinus I., Agapitus II. Of these twenty pontiffs, ten are highly eulogized by contemporaries, and by such modern authorities as Muratori, Fleury, Rohrbacher—writers profoundly versed in the subject: the two former being noted as over-severe censors of the Papacy; but what is still better, these ten Popes of the worst sixty of the 150 years, have established the testimonials of their fame in their own virtues and glorious deeds. One out of the twenty was pre-eminently wicked. No one ever has been; no one having a respect for truth or virtue can ever be, his apologist. There are three out of the twenty of whom no good or evil is known except that they were persecuted by the wicked: a presumptive evidence of virtue. Four

are loudly impeached by CARDINAL BARONIUS; their apology, however, is pleaded by Fleury, by Rohrbacher, by Muratori; and we are much mistaken if the reader will not admit, with complete success.

This is a correct statement of the case as against the Papacy; no one, unless he chose to abandon the solid footing of history to embark on fiction, can take exception to it.

The first of the accused is Pope Formosus: let him be called to the bar: but let him have such a trial as is not denied to be the right of even the worst and lowest culprit.

Liutprand himself, the satirist of the Pontiffs, allows that Formosus was "a most religious Pope." Frodoard, also, who flourished at the same time, and gives us in the history of the Archbishop of Rheims the substance of some of the Pontiff's letters, speaks highly in his praise.

The following is a brief summary of this Pontiff's life:—

When Cardinal-bishop of Porto, he is selected by Pope Nicholas I., A.D. 866, and sent with several other missionaries to preach the Gospel to the Bulgarians. That entire nation is converted, chiefly by his zeal, A.D. 867. Their king solicits the Holy See to have Formosus appointed archbishop of the Bulgarians, A.D. 873. He is sent as legate by John VIII. to Ludovic the Germanic, A.D. 875. He is sent, in A.D. 878, by the same Pope as legate to Charles the Bald, to invite him to Rome. He falls

under the displeasure of John VIII. — for what reason is not known—and is deposed, A D. 883. Pope Marinus restored him to his see: A.D. 890, he is elected Pope.

His is the first recorded instance of a bishop having been elected Pope. A synod held at Rome under John IX., A.D. 898, says this was done—necessitatis causâ—through necessity, and on account of the great merit of Formosus.* What the necessity was we are not informed. Too certain it is, however, that the worst disorders ensued on the introduction of the new but indispensable order of discipline. Scenes of the greatest violence took place: nor did the ferment thus excited cease to agitate the passions of the contending parties for a long time, or end with the reign of Formosus. His pontificate, though brief (it being but of five or six years' duration), makes an important figure in Church history. From the east, and from Africa, affairs of the greatest moment and intricacy, as he mentions in his letters to the sainted archbishop of Rheims, came crowding on him, at the same time that he was occupied with much solicitude in regulating the Church in England, Germany, and France; and in preparing for a General Council which he had summoned for the year 893. It closed, however, amidst storms and darkness, which boded nothing but scandals to the Apostolic See, and unnumbered woes to Rome and Italy.

* "Necessitatis causâ, de Portuensi ecclesiâ, Formosus pro vitæ merito ad Apostolicam sedem provectus est."—*Collect. Concil.* t. i. coll. 700. ap. Murat. an. 898. p. 295. n. 3.

The emperor Guido (called WIDO ITALICI REGNI TYRANNUS by an ancient annalist*) died it would appear suddenly and unhappily, in the year 894. Like his brother, Lambert duke of Spoleti, this Guido had been a sore scourge to the States of Saint Peter. Pope John VIII., in his 276th letter, written to the emperor Charles the Fat, the 11th of November, A.D. 882, implores his assistance against "Guido the rabid," as he styles him; such was the fury with which he incessantly plundered and laid waste the Patrimony of St. Peter, allowing no respite to those who were the victims of his forays.† For these doings he incurred the same infamy as his brother Lambert had, before him. He was put under the ban of the empire; but taking example of the father of the prodigal in the Gospel, the benign and saintly Pope Stephen V. restored him to forgiveness in the year 890; and by one of those freaks of fortune so usual in seasons of anarchy, he found himself the same year with the crown of Charlemagne upon his head. Muratori says that Rome and the States of the Church were under his sway, at the accession of Pope Formosus.‡ After the death of Guido,

* "Wido Italici regni tyrannus, *morbo correptus obiit.* Cujus filius Lantbertus eodem modo regnum invadendo affectatus est." —*Annal. Lambec.* p. 1. t. 2. *Rer. Ital. Sup.* p. 121.

† "Ceterum de Guidone Rabia, invasore scilicet et rapaci, vestra gloria subveniat, et cum de finibus nostris, *ut aliquan tulum populus noster relevari valeat,* ejicere modis omnibus jubeatis."—*Ep.* 279. *ap. Murat. an.* 882. p. 234.

‡ "In questi tempi esercitava jurisdizione sovrana in Roma stessa, e negli Stati della Chiesa."—*An.* 892.

Ageltruda his widow and his son Lambert were not content with merely continuing this usurpation. It is considered most probable by Muratori, that they had thrown Formosus into prison, and that he was not liberated until after the city was taken by Arnulph, in the singular manner to which we shall have to allude hereafter.* The persecution he had to suffer from the usurpers did not end even here. His death, which took place in A.D. 896, and not long after he was liberated from a dungeon, is, in the opinion of Muratori, to be laid to the charge of the same Lambertus.† Not long after, the life of this unhappy prince himself was brought to a violent and untimely end.

Pope Formosus, according to Liutprand, was highly venerated for his piety and for his profound acquaintance with the divine Scriptures and ecclesiastical science in general.‡ Cardinal Baronius praises him. Muratori thinks him open to the charge of ambition brought against him by the party of Sergius, as we learn from a writer of those excited times.§ Mabillon and Rohrbacher seem

* "Certo è che Roma venne per forza alle mani d'Arnolfo, e che papa Formoso, perseguitato, e forse imprigionato dalla fazione di Sergio, unita coll' Augusta Agiltruda, fu rimesso in libertà."—*An.* 896. p. 321.

† Annal. d'Italia, an. 896. p. 327.

‡ Pro vera religione, divinarumque Scripturarum et doctrinarum scientia.

§ "Non enim hereditario jure Sanctam Romanam ecclesiam tenuit (Formosus), neque eam, UT FERTUR, *ambitus causâ invasit*."

inclined to coincide with Muratori. Rohrbacher says of him, nevertheless: "fut un bon pape."* The reader will be probably inclined to the same opinion.

The next Pontiff, Stephen VI. (the creature as it would seem of Lambert, whose hatred pursued Formosus even beyond the tomb), is defended by no one. Cardinal Baronius says he durst not enumerate him in the catalogue of the Popes;† and Muratori says, that his "memory will be for ever detestable in the Church of God."‡ Chiefly at the instigation of Lambert, it is probable, he caused the body of Formosus to be disinterred; had it brought into his presence; went through a form of trial; and then causing the Pontifical vestments and insignia to be torn off the lifeless corpse, commanded it to be cast into the Tiber. It was taken out of the river by some fishermen, and not long after reintombed in St. Peter's. The wretched perpetrator of a crime and a profanation so odious was ere long overtaken by a death of the most

—*Ap. Murat. an.* 891. p. 295. The words *hereditario jure* sound like a sarcastic allusion, as if it had been a pretension of the party of Sergius that the Papacy should be held, only by ROMANS.

* Histoire Universelle de l'eglise Catholique, L. 59. p. 455.

† "Quem non auderem inter Romanos Pontifices numerare." —*An.* 897. *n.* 6.

‡ "Sempre detestabile la memoria sua nella chiesa di Dio."— *An.* 896. p. 329.

frightful kind. Dragged from the chair of St. Peter, loaded with chains, and thrust into a fœtid dungeon, during one of the tumults of the factions by which the city was now torn to pieces and made the arena of every kind of enormity, he met the same death as Judas Iscariot,—he was strangled, but not by his own hands.*

Of Pope Theodorus II. who succeeded, the highest character is given. Muratori praises him for his virtues. Frodoard says that he was the beloved of the clergy, the friend of peace: sober, chaste, a lover and a benefactor of the poor. He laboured to reconcile the factions into which the Romans were divided; and did all in his power to re-establish that order in the sanctuary which the insane proceedings of Stephen had disturbed.†

* "Captus et ipse, sacraque abiectus ab æde, tenebris
Carceris injicitur, vinclisque innectitur atris,
Et suffocatum, crudo PREMIT ULTIO leto."

Frodoard. ap. Murat. an. 897.

It is said in his epitaph that he was: "strangulatus nerbo."—*Ib.*

† "Dilectus clero Theodorus, pacis amicus
Sobrius et castus, patria bonitate repertus
Dedit pauperibus diffusus amator et alter.
Hic populum docuit connectere vincula pacis;
Atque sacerdotes concordi ubi junxit honore,
Dum propriis revocat disjectos sedibus, ipse
Complacitus rapitur, decreta sede locandus."

Frodoard. ubi supra.

John IX. is described by Muratori as "a very wise and pious man"—uomo molto saggio e pio. He formally condemned the horrible proceedings of Stephen VI. and caused the acts of the mock trial and deposition of the defunct pontiff Formosus to be burned; but, at the same time, the Synod decreed that the translation of the bishop of Porto to the see of Rome, though valid, was not to be followed as a precedent, except in some great necessity of the Church. Those who had been parties to taking up the body of Formosus—*in order to rob the tomb!**—were threatened with excommunication. A similar threat was held out against those who made it a practice—such was the lawless state of the times—to rush to the sack and plunder of the Lateran whenever the see became vacant. In another Council of seventy-four bishops held at Ravenna by this same pontiff, he calls on Lambert as emperor to put a stop to the "scenes of robbery, burning, and violence of every kind," of which the States of the Church had been made the scene for years, and to bring the delinquents to justice. He complains that estates and cities have been alienated: that free bands of Romans, Lombards, and Franks, have been gathered for mischief "in the territories of St. Peter;" that when called to the Papacy he found the Church of Rome reduced to the most deplorable state—the clergy sunk in distress, no means of sup-

* *Ad capiendum thesaurum.—Acta Concil. ap. Baron. ad an.*

port for the poor—all the property of so many charitable institutions with which the city abounded having been dissipated and made away with. The patriarchal basilica of the Lateran, he had found well nigh reduced to ruin, and when he sent people to get timber for its repair, they were set upon and chased from the forests. As he wore the title of emperor, Lambertus was called upon by the Pope to perform those duties of defence and protection of the rights of St. Peter, to which he was bound by the oath taken at his coronation: but already the unhappy Lambert's days were numbered, though still in youth. In this year, it was, he met the miserable end we have already described.

To John IX., in whose praise for great qualities and goodness both Cardinal Baronius and Muratori are agreed, Benedict IV. succeeded; Muratori thinks on the 31st of August, A.D. 900.

"Had not some memoirs of the Roman Pontiffs of this unhappy age been left us," says this same writer, "the rare endowments and virtues of a Pope so eminent for both would have remained unknown to us." He then quotes the words of Frodoard, who begins by saying that the title of "Great" was well deserved by Benedict IV. He lauds him for his affability and benignity. The lustre of his noble pedigree was eclipsed by the splendour of his virtues. The divine writings were the subject of his meditation. He lost sight of himself in seeking the good of all. He was the protector

of the friendless and afflicted; and orphans he cherished with the tenderness of a father. Following the exhortation of his Divine Master, he stored up all that he possessed in the bosoms of the poor.*

From an edict of the year 901, we learn that Ludovic, king of Provence, received in that year the imperial crown from the hands of this Pontiff—*sanctissimi et ter beatissimi*, and that he was "feasted by him after the ceremony, with the dukes, counts, and other princes of his kingdom, in the lobby—*laubia*—of the palace, close by the basilica of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles."†

The fate of the next Pope, Leo V., was in character with the age—designated by Muratori as an age of iron, full of iniquity—*secolo di ferro, pieno d'iniquità.* After two months he was hurled from the throne of St. Peter into a dungeon. There he was either strangled or starved to death, or otherwise got rid of by one Christophorus, who was suf-

"Tum sacra consurgunt Benedicti regmina quarti
Pontificis MAGNI, *merito qui nomine tali*
Enituit, cunctis ut dapsilis atque benignus.
Huic generis necnon pietatis splendor optimus
Ornat opus cunctum, meditatur jussa Tonantis.
Prætulit hic generale bonum lucro speciali,
Despectas viduas, inopes, vacuosque patronis,
Assiduâ, ut natos, propriâ bonitate fovebat,
Mercatusque polum, indiguis sua cuncta refudit."

Frodoard. ap. Muratori, an. 903. p. 13-14.

† Fiorentini, Memor. di Matilde. Append. ap. Murat.—An. 901. p. 5.

fered, however, but for a very short time—some months—to enjoy the fruits of his usurpation. We learn from Leo Ostiensis that after his expulsion he became a monk, and it is to be hoped did penance for his enormous impiety.*

The next Pope is Sergius III., who got possession of the Apostolic see in the year 904. He is regarded by Cardinal Baronius as an intruder—although enumerated in the catalogue of the Popes—and as a criminal of the blackest die. "Sergius ille NEFANDUS," is the great Cardinal's description of this Roman Pontiff. On the other hand, a writer who is allowed by Gibbon, Sismondi, and, in a word, by the entire learned world, to have been better versed in the mediæval history of Italy than any one who ever lived, and who was, moreover, the very reverse of an adulator of the Popes, maintains that this is a libel on Pope Sergius. "Had the biography," he says, "of this Pontiff been written, I firmly maintain that his character would have appeared in a light very different indeed, from that in which it is represented by the father of the ecclesiastical annals."†

It will no doubt be a subject of surprise, how a state of things so anomalous as this could have

* L. 1. c. 50. ap. Murat. an. 904. p. 20. This hope is not without foundation, if his epitaph given by Manlius, ap. Baron. an. 908. n. 1, be correct.—Hic *pia* Christopheri requiescunt *membra* sepulti. We doubt that it refers to this Christopher.

† Annali, &c. an. 907. p. 29.

arisen—a writer, whose tone is habitually unfriendly to the Popes, obliged to become their defender against one, who is looked up to—and with justice—as the most powerful and devoted champion of the Popes, and of the privileges of the see of St. Peter! One word, however, solves the mystery: Muratori had evidence before him, which was not known to exist when Cardinal Baronius gave judgment against Sergius III.

Up to the time that Baronius composed his Annals, the writings of Liutprandus were the *only* source from which information was to be gathered as to the Popes who lived during those dark and evil days; and certainly, as Liutprand told the story, nothing could be too severe for the Cardinal to say of Sergius III. or of the others, as of John X., for instance, whom he similarly condemns. But as was natural enough, the researches of Baronius, astonishing though they were, still left a vast deal in the archives of Europe for the industry of later investigators, such as the Benedictines of St. Maur, and as Pagi, Baluzius, Muratori himself, and a host of others, to bring to light. The result has been that every fragment shedding additional light on the history of the Popes of the 10th century has revealed the injustice that had been done them, by those who had too implicitly relied on Liutprandus as an authority. And certainly, if what this genius of the most profligate of the Dark Ages tells us of himself be deserving of credit, his testimony is not worth a jot

against any one else—much less against the Roman Pontiffs. Upon evidence such as his—even if not contradicted, as it is emphatically by witnesses above all suspicion—a packed jury would blush to bring in a verdict of guilty.

He grew up from boyhood in the court of Hugo, king of Italy, whom he unwittingly depicts as the most nefarious of monsters, at the same time that he covers him with the vilest adulation and panegyrizes him as a saint! This Hugo, soon after he became king or tyrant of Lombardy, A.D. 926, grew jealous of the renown for valour and for other princely qualities of his own brother Lambert duke of Tuscany. He first defamed him—saying he was not his father's son—and, when Lambert overcame in single combat the champion whom Hugo selected to make good the slander, he contrived to get him into his power; and not content with stripping him of his fair domain of Tuscany, *he had his eyes plucked out*; —"gli fece cavar gli occhi."* His was a government by spies:† his wives were as numerous as those of Henry VIII., not less tragical their lot. He had, moreover, a seraglio. Roza, its most favoured inmate, he carried away after cutting off her father's head.‡ Another enormity told of him by the Chronicler of Novalese, is too detestable to be men-

* Muratori, an. 931. p. 120.

† Ugo tenea delle spie da pertutto.—Murat. an. 933. p. 127. Again, an. 938. p. 147.

‡ *Ib.*

tioned. His lust was equalled by his avarice. Liutprand exultingly describes some of the arts, too gross to be spoken of, to which he was urged by this grovelling and odious passion. His offspring by his numerous concubines, he quartered on the church. The son of one of them—Bezola, di vilissima nozione Sueva—he made bishop of Piacenza; another, the son of Stefania, a Roman by birth, and possibly the daughter of Maroza before alluded to, he made archdeacon of Milan. He openly traded in the benefices, abbies, and episcopal secs, as they became vacant. On his son's marriage, the princess Adelaide, his spouse, receives no less than three monasteries, as a portion of what would be called her marriage settlement, in modern times.* "Behold," says Muratori, "how the princes of that age abused their power, making away with what belonged to the Church according to their caprice."†

Such was the prince, represented in the writings of Liutprand as a paragon of perfection. But Hugo had been his patron.‡ After recounting one of the above-mentioned facts, he goes on to say, "At that time I was in the highest favour with King Hugo. I owed it all to the honied sweetness of my voice. The king was passionately enamoured of song, and my

* Murat. an. 939. p. 247. † Ib. an. 932. p. 125.

‡ "Luitprand, qui pourtant était alors diacre et dédie son histoire à un évêque, se complaît à décrire longuement des anecdotes ou des contes obcènes, qui même n'ont aucun rapport à son histoire."—*Rohrbacher*, l. 59. p. 438.

warbling was not to be surpassed." None of those melodies in which King Hugo so much delighted, and in which his favourite so excelled, have come down to us; but if they were of the same character as the anecdotes with which, even in more sober age and when wearing the mitre, he interlarded his writings, they must have been everything in obscenity and immodesty that the sceptred libertine could have desired. In his narratives he is continually going out of his way after some gross or immodest story. He dwells on such themes with pleasure. The conjecture is by no means without foundation that these ballads of his youth were the sources from which he derived his history of Sergius III., and the other Pontiffs whom he maligns. His adulation of Otho the Great, in whose court he flourished during his after life, one might regard more leniently, did it not sometimes border on the profane. Otho was only a great warrior, Liutprand makes him a saint. He says that being shipwrecked on one occasion, he must have perished had not the Almighty preserved him in consideration of the sanctity of the emperor.*

As for impartiality, he pretends to nothing of the sort: but, on the contrary, entering into an elaborate explanation of the Greek title, *Antidosis*, which he gives to the third book of his history of the empire of the West, he tells us he has done so, because he proposes in that book to take *revenge* of those who have done evil to himself or his family. These foul

* Vid. Rohrbacher, ubi supra.

and resentful passions have left their trail on every page of his writings. In his first visit as ambassador to Constantinople, he is well received—he extols that city to the skies: nothing so moral, so civilized, as its inhabitants. On a second occasion, when he is sent there by the Emperor Otho, he gets himself into disgrace, and Constantinople is forthwith metamorphosed into an object only fit to inspire disgust: its very atmosphere is poison: the Greeks are indiscriminately overwhelmed by a cataract of abuse. It is the same in every other instance. His whole life was passed in the most deadly conflicts of parties habituated to every brutality, and seemingly insensible to any feelings of honour, probity, or remorse. The grand look out with Liutprand is to find the hardest and foulest diction to hurl at all of the opposite faction; while to extol the praises of those on his own side, more especially of his sceptered patrons, he is equally at a loss for terms sufficiently exaggerated to express the virtues he assigns them, knowing well, at the same time, how opposed was all this to the truth. We have seen how his panegyrics were deserved by one object of his adulation, King Hugo: as for Otho, his epithet for him is constantly the "holy," the "most holy emperor," even when that emperor is setting up an anti-pope.

Now there were two most potent causes by which a writer of such a stamp must have been impelled to strive and blacken the character of the Popes—who were Romans. Further on we shall see that it was

a darling object of policy with the German Cæsar, to whose interest Liutprand was body and soul devoted, that no Roman should be pope; and that nothing should be left undone to make it appear to the world that Romans were unworthy, and unfit to be popes. The spirit, therefore, in which paragraphs are penned by partisans the most exasperated in the crisis of a revolution, is the spirit in which Liutprand penned his invectives against Sergius and the other Popes. The passage is so commonly known, we need not quote it, in which he stigmatizes all Romans without exception, in the most violent terms—setting them down as dastardly, worthless, and depraved to the last degree.

Again: he had to avenge King Hugo upon the Romans, and more especially on Maroza, of whom his idol was the ignominiously discarded paramour: for it is an appendix to King Hugo's other glories, that he rivalled Herod, in living with one who had been his own brother's wife. Liutprand, it is likely, was an inmate of the royal pavilion on the two occasions that the king, who lived on his songs, lay encamped under the walls of Rome, at a time when all sorts of pasquinades and coarse romances which could vilify the papacy in the eyes of the multitude, were in request: it being expedient to find some plausible excuses for stripping the Pontiffs of their temporal power, as young Alberic was then actually supported in doing by the most active and daring amongst the Romans, together with great numbers

who went over from the besieging army. From such materials—from the scandal of camps and courts in which his life was passed, it is the opinion of Muratori that Liutprand mainly derived the information he gives us regarding the Popes. Muratori convicts him of the grossest blunders—more especially with reference to events occurring before he himself became an actor on the scene. Now, Liutprand is still in the bloom of youth when, in 946, he transfers his services to Berenger II., whose fortunes were then fast rising, while those of Hugo, his former patron, were as rapidly declining, if they had not already set.* Pope Sergius died an old man, in the year 911—five and thirty years previously, and the crime of which he stands accused *upon the sole testimony of Liutprand* must be dated at a period much earlier. John XI. who was, *according to Liutprand,* the fruit of the "nefarious adultery" of which he says that Sergius was guilty with Maroza, became Pope in the year 931.† Thus are the times in which the supposed crimes took place removed to that precise distance from the accuser, regarding which the memory of society, even in the most tranquil and enlightened times, will be invariably found to be most confused; and that

* Murat. Ann. an. 946. p. 174.

† "Marozia ex Papa Sergio, cujus supra fecimus mentionem, Joannem, qui post Joannis Ravennatis obitum, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ obtinuit dignitatem, nefario genuit adulterio."—*Liutprand Hist.* l. 2. c. 13.

Liutprand was no exception to this general rule is plain from the gross ignorance relative to what happened at a period much nearer to him, of which Muratori convicts him in several instances. Thus after describing how John X. came by his death, Liutprand goes on to say: "when he was dead, they take the son of Maroza herself, whom this harlot had of her adultery with Pope Sergius, and set him up as Pope." "Now a blunder more gross than this," says Muratori, "there cannot be—*è una spropositata asserzione.* We know for certain that after John X. Pope Leo VI. was elected and consecrated, in the month of June, according to Pagi: after Leo came Stephen VII., and not until after his demise comes John XI. After this sample," he concludes, "let who will rely on the statements of Liutprand—ora vatti a fidare di Liutprando."* Every candid mind must coincide in the judgment of Muratori. Indeed, as we set out with saying, no jury would convict on the testimony of such a witness: in the lowest police court the flagitious charge he prefers would not be received upon such evidence. He is convicted of a similar misstatement with regard to Pope John X. It would appear from Liutprand that, hardly was he well seated in the see of Ravenna when he passed to that of Rome; whereas it is shewn by the archives of the former Church that he presided over it for upwards of five years. It is but little to be wondered

* Ann. an. 928. p. 105—106.

at that charges so opprobrious should have fired such a soul as that of Cardinal Baronius with grief and indignation. In this frame of mind, he could not so easily see through the worthlessness and inconsistencies of the evidence, as those who felt less sensitively for the honour of the Apostolic See, and who had before them the testimony of Frodoard, which had not come to light until long after the Cardinal's death.

This Frodoard or Flodoard, was born at Epernay in 894, and died in 966. He became so distinguished in the famous school at Rheims that, from an early age and before being raised to the priesthood, he was appointed keeper of the archives of the cathedral of Saint Remi. Thus was marvellously fostered that natural turn for historical inquiry, in which he became the most accomplished scholar of his times. "Flodoard," says Rohrbacher, "is represented to us by his contemporaries, as one highly revered for his virtues: namely, for the sanctity of his life, an angelic chastity, and a wisdom such as falls not to the ordinary lot of mortals. As an author he was not less distinguished."* We have of his composition, a Chronicle much esteemed, from the year 919, to the year 966: a history of

* "Flodoard nous est représenté par ses contemporains comme un prêtre respectable par toute sorte de vertus, nommément par la sainteté de sa conduite, une chasteté angélique et une sagesse plus qu' humaine. Comme auteur, il ne se distingue pas moins," &c.—l. 59 p. 439.

the Church of Rheims, derived from the archives of which he had charge; and the Lives of the Popes, from Saint Peter to Leo VII. What renders the latter still more interesting and valuable, is that the author of it visited Rome in the year 936, and gives us an account of the very gracious reception he met with, from the then reigning Pontiff. The charges of Liutprand are not sustained by this writer. They are directly at variance with the account that Flodoard has left us, and that account has been still further confirmed by each new source of information that has come to light. This is the case in the remarkable instance of a metrical history of King Berenger I., supposed by Hadrian Valesius, who discovered it, to have been written before the year 924.*

The character of the evidence being now fully and fairly before the reader, let him decide for himself, if it be just to fasten on Pope Sergius a crime of the most scandalous description—and such a crime as was never breathed against any of the preceding Pontiffs†—upon the sole testimony of Liut-

* "Adriano Valesio, che fu il primo a trar dalle tenebre questo poema istorico, prezioso frammento per la storia dello scuro secolo presente, fu di parere, che il poeta fosse contemporaneo di Berengario." Though Muratori is inclined to take exception to this, he ends by observing "*parrà intanto inverisimile*, che dopo la morte di Berengario alcuno avesse intrapresa questa fatica." Ann. an. 916. p. 59.

† "Est le premier Pape que je trouve chargé d'un tel reproche." *Fleury*, l. 54. §. 42.

prand, the sport as he was of the most sordid, corrupt, and vindictive passions—all prompting him to represent this Pope in the darkest colours. In our Vatican MS., the statement of Liutprand is termed a "solemn imposture"—*una solenne impostura.* It quotes the authority of Leo Ostiensis, to shew that according to the tradition of Rome, Pope John XI. was the legitimate offspring of Maroza and Alberic I.* By Rohrbacher and Muratori it is equally rejected.† The invectives of modern writers are worth nothing, Liutprand being proved undeserving of credence. The story originated with Liutprand: there is no allusion to it in any other writing of that age. The charge must therefore stand or fall with the reputation of Liutprand, as a *trustworthy and impartial historian.*

From a work of Joannes Diaconus the younger, brought to light by Mabillon,‡ it appears that the Lateran basilica remained in a state of ruin "up to

* Leo, after mentioning the death of the preceding Pope, says: "Joannes XI. natione Romanus, *Alberici Romanorum consulis filius,* illi in pontificatu successit."—L. 1. c. 61.

† "Liutprando solo garante di questa indignità è copiato poi alla cieca da i sussequenti scrittori. Può essere, ch 'egli dica il vero. Contuttociò si potrebbe dimandare, se s'abbiano a prendere come verità contanti tutte le laidezze maldicenze, delle quali è si vago nella sua storia Liutprando."—*Murat. Ann.* an. 911. p. 40, 41.

‡ In Appen. ad Ord. Rom.

the time that the Cardinal-presbyter Sergius was recalled from exile, elected, and consecrated Pope. Great was his sorrow after his ordination at beholding the desolation of this most noble temple; and when in all human appearance no hope could be entertained of seeing it restored, turning for aid to that Divine clemency in which his reliance had been ever reposed, he began it from the foundations. He saw the new temple completed, and decorated it with ornaments in gold and silver." This historian then enumerates one by one the various ornaments and offerings, and concludes with a eulogium on the indefatigable zeal and devotion which actuated Sergius III.*

This Pontiff, be it remembered, and John the Deacon who writes thus regarding him were both living at the same time.†

* "Fuit in ruinis dissipata et comminuta usque ad tempus, quo revocatus est Dominus Sergius Presbyter et electus de exilio, et consecratus est Romanorum tertius Præsul. Post ordinationem igitur suam Dom. Sergius III. Papa tristabatur nimium super desolationem nobilissimi hujus templi, non enim erat spes neque solatium de restoratione illius. Quumque omnibus esset desperatio de ejus desolatione, et humanum deesset auxilium; ad divinæ pietatis conversus juvamen, in qua semper habuit fiduciam, incipiens ab antiquis laborare fundamentis, fine tenus opus hoc consummavit, et decoravit ornamentis aureis et argenteis," &c. This coincides exactly with what is said by Frodoard:

"Quo profugus latuit septem volventibus annis
Hinc populi remeans præcibus, sacratur honore."

† Rohrbacher, l. 59. p. 520.

The next Pope is Anastasius III. He succeeded on the death of Sergius, in the year 911, and reigned for only two years and two months. No charge has ever been alleged against this Pontiff. He is praised by Frodoard for the benignity which characterized his reign, and he devoutly prays that in return his Redeemer may receive him with a bland countenance, and in mercy.*

Of his immediate successor, Pope Lando I., nothing good or bad is known, but that he reigned for six months and ten days. The little that is said of him by Frodoard may be interpreted in his praise, as if worthy to follow the primitive Pontiffs to the joys of heaven.†

John X., who succeeded, is reprobated in the strongest terms by Cardinal Baronius, misled in this instance as in that of Sergius III., by the stories of Liutprand, which have, however, been triumphantly refuted both by Muratori and Rohrbacher, grounded on the testimony of Frodoard and the biographer of King Berenger.‡

Hardly was this Pontiff well seated on the throne of Saint Peter, when he set about effecting a coalition of the princes of all parts of Italy—solely intent as they were on their intestine feuds—with a view to dislodge the Saracens, from whose ravages the

* Sedis Apostolicæ *blando moderamine* rector,
Sentiat ut Christum veniæ sibi munere blandum.

† Emeritus patrum sequitur quoque fata priorum.

‡ Vid. Rohrbacher. l. 59. p. 540—547.

fertile and beauteous countries, far and wide around the camp they had fortified on the Garigliano, could find no respite. It was with this intent he invited King Berenger to Rome, and crowned him emperor on Easter Sunday, in the year 915. He then brought about an understanding with the emperor of the east, to cut off the communication by sea, that the infidels might be thus prevented from drawing reinforcements from Africa or Sicily, or from escaping in case of a defeat. The princes of Capua, of Salerno, and Beneventum, with Gregory duke of Naples, John duke of Gaeta, Nicholas Piciugli the Greek patrician, and Alberic duke of Spoleti, took part in the expedition. It was directed in person by John X., "the more to encourage the Christian army." After a desperate struggle, the Saracens were dislodged, routed, and their power so completely broken, that, except occasional descents upon the coast, the Papal States were effectually delivered ever after from this dreadful scourge. Incredible was the joy of the faithful of Christ in Rome and all through Italy, as the tidings of this victory were diffused, and great were the praises bestowed on the author of it.*

"Thus," says Rohrbacher, in winding up his history of this Pontiff's reign, "thus from the capital of the Greek empire, as well as from the recesses of Germany and France, recourse was had

* Vid. Murat. Ann. an. 916. p. 61.

to John X. to re-establish order and union in the Churches. From the capital of the Greek empire as from the kingdoms of the West he was implored to interfere, and by his apostolic authority to bring about peace between kings and nations, every where in conflict with each other: his character of common father was recognized by all; and a patriarch of Constantinople reminds a king of the Bulgarians that it is a sin like that of Elymas, or of Ananias and Saphira, to slight the admonitions of a Roman Pontiff."*

The testimony of Muratori is equally strong. In defending him against the aspersions cast by Liutprand on his memory, and the severity with which Baronius is led to speak of him, he says that this Roman Pontiff has been ever received and venerated as such by the Church of God, that he comported himself in that most arduous office in a laudable manner, and that if he incurred the hatred of the wicked and of tyrants, and in the end fell a victim to their violence, he did so because he refused to surrender the temporal rights of the Holy See.† We are told by Frodoard, that immense treasures were being expended by John X. in decorating one of the basilicas or palaces, he does not tell us which,

* Ubi supra, p. 547.

† "Un Romano Pontifice, accetato e venerato per tale da tutta la chiesa di Dio, e che lodevolmente esercitò il pontificato, e solo per sortener i dritti temporale della Santa Sede incontrò l'odio de' cattivi," &c.—*Muratori Ann.* an. 928. p. 104, 105.

and that all was flourishing in peace around him,* when the band of ruffians (sent for that purpose from their stronghold in Sant' Angelo, by Maroza and her second husband Guido of Tuscany), burst into the Lateran, murdered the Pope's brother in his presence, and dragged the Pontiff himself to the dungeon where, according to one version, he was smothered with a pillow, while others had it that the shock and grief at what he had witnessed and suffered, killed him. In his Chronicle, Frodoard says the latter was the generally received opinion.†

He was succeeded, not by John XI., as Liutprand asserts, but by Leo VI., a Pontiff against whom no charge has been ever made. Frodoard says of him merely, that after a reign of seven months and five days, "his soul went to join his predecessors."‡ Tolomeo di Lucca says, all that is known of him, is that he "exercised no tyranny."§

We are equally in the dark as to the succeeding reign, that of Stephen VII., who sat in the chair of Saint Peter, two years eight months and twelve days. The term *præfulget* applied to his pontificate by Frodoard, would indicate that, like so many of his predecessors, he was illustrious for his virtues.

* "Munificisque sacram decorans ornatibus aulam, pace nitet." &c.—*Frodoard, ap. Murat.* an. 928. p. 105.

† Ut plures astruunt.

‡ Prædecessorumque petit consortia vatum.

§ Ap. Murat. *ib.*

John XI., as we have already seen, was completely under the control of his brother Alberic, the "Tyrant of Rome," and by Cardinal Baronius, he is styled a *pseudo-pontifex*. This judgment, however, was not a little influenced by what we have proved to have been the libellous story told by Liutprand. This Pontiff was the son of Alberic and Maroza. There is no proof that his election was procured by violence, though there is in Frodoard a hint to that effect. By one contemporary he is called a Pontiff, *gloriosæ indolis;* this however may have been said in a spirit of adulation. Questioned it cannot be, that in his person the Apostolic See was completely enslaved. "He was stripped of all influence," says Frodoard, "pushed back into obscurity, and restricted to the mere ceremonies of the Church."* His death took place, A.D. 936.

The Apostolic see was next occupied by Leo VII. He was a great and holy Pope. In the Chronicle of Frodoard, the title by which he is designated is "servant of God." Muratori entitles him "zealantissimo;" and again, "a man of rare probity"—uomo di rara probitá—"a Pontiff of great piety and zeal for religion." It was contrary to his own wishes he was elected. Absorbed in devotion, and of a meek and placid disposition, he was the sort of Pontiff with whom the tyrant Alberic would have felt quite at ease, in his usurpation of the temporal

* Vi vacuus, splendore carens, modo sacra ministrans.

authority.* It was during the reign of this Pontiff, that Frodoard went to Rome. He speaks in pious raptures of the audience with which he was honoured. Leo VII. embraced him, and dismissed him overjoyed and with many presents.†

Early in this pontificate, King Hugo returned for the second time to beleaguer the Eternal City. The environs and the country all round for a great distance had been previously ravaged by Alberic, thereby to distress the enemy. Without, as well as within the walls, all was havoc and misery in every form. Pope Leo was the means of saving the city, and putting an end to these dreadful scenes. St. Odo the venerable abbot of Clugni then at Rome, was his legate on this occasion. John the monk, who was with St. Odo, represents him as hurrying to and fro, from the city to the camp, and from the camp to the city; one time on the ramparts, at another before the ranks of the besiegers, every where preaching peace, labouring to assuage the fury of the king, and to save Rome from the horrors impending over it.‡ Hugo had at this time or in the year fol-

* "Appunto promosse a questo sublime grado da Alberico Principe di Roma, perchè si sapeva, ch'egli non curava punto le pompe del secolo."—*Murat.* an. 936. p. 137.

† Ac geminans dono cumulatum mumeris almi
Pernere lætantem amplexu dimisit honore.
Quem Pater omnipotens, alacrem cultuque venustum
Attollat, servetque diu! . . . .

‡ "Cœpit ille intra extraque discurrere, et pacis concordiæque monita inter utrosque disseminare," &c.—*Ap. Mabill. Sæcul. V. Benedict. in Vit. S. Odonis.* l. 2.

lowing, usurped the exarchate and the other provinces of the States beyond the Apennines;* and although he had been prevailed on to raise the siege of Rome, and had given his daughter Alda to Alberic in marriage, we learn from Liutprand that he ceased not, year after year, to waste the Roman territory with fire and sword. He made himself master of all the towns and cities, leaving to Alberic nothing of his usurped dominion, beyond the walls of Rome.†

Observe how the desolation of the Campagna, and the huddling of the population in the rocky eyries of the mountains, is industriously provided for, but not by the Popes, from age to age.

These tragedies were enacted during the pontificate of Stephen VII., who had succeeded the venerable Leo, in 939. The presumption is that he was worthy of his predecessor in holiness of life; but not so easily persuaded to acquiesce in the usurpation of Alberic. In the year 942, some time previous to the month of February, he was cruelly mutilated—probably by the plucking out of his eyes and tongue, with the chopping off of his hands—atrocities quite common in this most barbarous century ‡

* Murat. An. an. 939. p. 152.

† "Quotannis graviter opprimebat gladio et igne, quæ poterat universa consumens, adeo ut civitates, præter Romam,—omnes auferret."—*Hist.* l. 3. c. 1.

‡ Martin. Polon. in Chron. Cardinal Baronius gives another authority—"Hæc de Stephano a Romanis adeo male habito, vetus liber de Rom. Pontificibus scripta continet."—*Ann.* an. 940. n. 1.

He was immediately succeeded by Marinus II., a very admirable Pontiff. "Amidst the hopeless confusion and wars of the times, he devoted himself exclusively," says Baronius, "to the establishment of rigid order and discipline in the Church, reforming the clergy secular and monastic; to the beautifying of the churches, and to the care of the poor. At the same time, he endeavoured by his letters to put a stop to the feuds and sanguinary wars, in which the Christian princes were without cessation engaged."* To use the words of Muratori, "Pope Marinus was called by the Almighty to a better life, in A.D. 944."

Agapitus II. succeeded him. "It is to be lamented," says the same writer, "that no sufficient record of the rare virtues and actions of this Pontiff has come down to our times, if indeed any such were ever committed to writing."† He was called to his reward, in A.D. 956; and with him closes the first of the three periods, into which this darkest epoch of the Christian era divides itself.

The only existing authentic evidence relative to the twenty Popes who successively occupied the chair of St. Peter, from Formosus to Agapitus II., during sixty-six years, a term the most disastrous the Roman see has ever witnessed—and it has had

* Ann. an. 943. n. 1.

† "Agapito II., le cui rare virtù e gesta è da dolere, che non sieno stato tramandate dalla penna, d'alcuno ai posteri, o pure non sieno junti ai dì nostri."—*Ann. an.* 956.

its share of trials—is now before the reader. The conduct of two out of the twenty, viz. of Stephen VI. and Christoforus I., is reprobated and deplored by all Catholics. Neither of them, however, was as wicked as Caiaphas, who, nevertheless, did utter a grand and *inspired* prophecy "BECAUSE *he was high priest that year:*"* that is, notwithstanding his unparalleled wickedness, he was the legitimate Pontiff, the functionary ordained and instituted in that sublime office, conformably to the canon law of the Jewish Church. Bad, wicked men, were these two, —one of them certainly did penance—but as Pontiffs their acts were as *valid* as those of Caiaphas; or as those of Judas would have been, had he exercised his apostleship; and Judas, (so far as validity of functions) was as much an Apostle as St. Peter himself.

Of the eighteen remaining after these two, two have been impeached of scandalous crimes; but we saw that on such testimony as that of Liutprand—the only witness against them—a jury the most biassed should refuse to convict. We saw in both these instances, of Sergius III. and John X., that their characters have become entitled to respect, (such an authority as Muratori would add, to admiration,) in proportion as fresh documents have come to light, that bear upon their history. Had they really been such profligate sacrilegious criminals, as the buffo-singer—the servile, vindictive, foul-mouthed, and scandal-loving Liutprand—says they were, the

* John, c. xi. 49—53.

reverse of this must have been the case. The more the light is let in upon real guilt, the blacker and more hateful it appears. All the rest of the eighteen were remarkable for their virtues, with the exception of John XI., of whom we know nothing to his discredit, but that he had the misfortune to be the son of a bad mother, and the brother of a sacrilegious tyrant. He lived and died the slave of the latter, as did some others of the Popes of this period, particularly Stephen VII., who was cruelly mutilated, as we have described.

Oppressed as it was by the most unscrupulous tyranny, during the entire of this period, it is nothing short of a miracle, according to the rule laid down by Sismondi himself, that the scandals of the Papacy were not greater.

CHAPTER IV.

SINGULARLY striking is the change, the aspect of the country has undergone, since last we viewed it. At that time the invasions had not yet commenced. Every feature of the scenery was expressive of the peace and security enjoyed by all classes, and in all places. The cities and towns were for the most part, inhabited without walls; the open country was thickly interspersed with dwellings, which indicated to the pilgrim and the traveller, how happy, and how free from apprehension of sudden attack or any danger, were their inmates. The old chroniclers who have left us such quaint and simple pictures of that happy age, inform us that, in those times, it was customary with their brethren to pass from one abbey to another, and to speed them on their errands of mercy, without danger or molestation, either by night or by day: either at the bridges, the river fords, on the highways, in the darkest forests, or in the wildest passes of the mountains. "At that time, hardly was there a castle anywhere to be seen, but only fair peaceful-looking villas and churches, everywhere, for profound was the peace enjoyed

by all, without dread or thought of wars, until the time of the Saracens."*

But now the look and attitude of every object, most conspicuous in the landscape, betokened intent or dread of violence. War and feud in every form and in all their tenses, past, present, or impending, were to be read in everything, animate or inanimate, that met the view. Not the cities only, but every petty burgh, every hamlet of a few hundred souls, was begirt with strong and lofty walls, bristling with parapets and towers: and even within the precinct thus secured with foss, and drawbridge, and gates well guarded by warders, night and day, each dwelling was a fortress.† No bridge or ford of the rivers, no pass of the hills, no vantage ground among the mountains or on the plains, was without a castle, and every castle was the stronghold of some titled brigand, scorning all law and deaf to pity. Dukes, marchesi, conti, visconti, valvassori, and valvassini, castellans of all degrees, either had chosen, or been driven by the force of circumstances, on that outcast's lot, whose "hand was against every

* Chron. Vult.—"*Rara castella—omnia villis, et ecclesiis plena erant. Nec erat formido aut metus bellorum, quoniam alta pace omnes gaudebant, usque ad tempora Saracenorum.*"

† Speaking of a city, of which the bishop caused the walls and towers to be levelled, A.D. 897, *Dandalo in Chron.* t. xii. Rer. Ital. SS. says: "Fuerat hæc siquidem civitas condensissimis turribus bene redimita, et arcus in circuitu per totum deambulatorios, cum propugnaculis desuper, atque antemuralibus."

man and every man's hand against him." The reign of violence was everywhere. Order and law were scoffed at, and trampled under the iron heel of lawless force. In fact, there nowhere existed any great centre of power: no organization with force sufficient to protect the weak, to curb the desperate, or chastise the guilty. Beyond the walls of one insignificant city and its immediate environs, the last of the Carlovingians—Lothair of Laon, in whom the dynasty of Charlemagne expires—is bereft of every shadow of power.* Royalty in France was but a name, a souvenir well nigh extinct: with the new dynasty it partook more of hope and augury, than of reality. Beyond a circuit of a few miles round Paris, the sway of the first kings of the Capetian dynasty had no effect. Robert son of Hugh, seems to mock at the idea of his being called a king.† In the German realms it was no better. For six-and-thirty years of the tenth century, all Germany laid at the feet of the Hungarians, and paid them tribute. Henry the Fowler lived more

* This was in the year 987. Lothair died in that year. "It is but in name," says Gerbert, *Ep. ap. Du Chesne Rer. Fran.* t. x. p. 387, "that Lothair is king, but Hugh (Capet) without the name is king *de facto*." Hugh seized on Charles of Lorraine, Lothair's brother, after he had held Laon for a short time, and threw him into the tower of Orleans, where he died.

† "La royautè n'etait plus qu'un nom, un souvenir," &c. *Vid. Michelet, Hist. de France, &c.* t. ii. p. 140—143. "Pendent le regne de Robert, la noblesse chatelaine avait continué a multiplier."—*Sismondi, Hist. des Francais*, t. iv. p. 199—201.

like an outlaw than a monarch. Spain was no exception to the rule, neither were the British islands; but after all it was in Italy, perhaps, that the total dismemberment of every thing like a central power, if we except the influence of the Papacy, was most complete. Even in the palmiest days of the Carlovingian empire, the great Lombard dukes and minor nobles, had forfeited but little of their quasi-independence. Nor was this wreck of all temporal authority restricted to that which belonged only to kings. The sway of the dukes, of the marchesi, conti, and other nobles, had shared the same fate. These had no jurisdiction but in name. In a word, during this paroxysm of universal anarchy, multifarious conflict, and of woes and enormities, beyond all power but that of the angels, who wept over these horrors, either to estimate or number, there was no obedience rendered to any earthly thing, except to superior and immediately present force.

The heavenly form of peace had, in sad and literal reality, fled the earth. Nowhere was it to be found —not even in the haunts whence it drew its birth, where it loved so much to abide, like her who sat at the feet of the Prince of Peace in listening silence; and where, no matter how sorely it may fare with it in the whole world besides, it ought always to be sure of an asylum. The temples of religion also, were turned into fortresses in those days—evil and full of crimes and tragedies of the blackest dye: the cloister was fortified like a camp, and in but

too many instances kept up appearances—not belieing the character of a camp, in the rude, unbridled life, that reigned within.

Like everything appertaining to this epoch, (the second half of the 10th century), on which we are now entering, the facts and scenes relating to it, are thrown about in great disorder. They are nowhere to be found collected together, or arranged, but are to be searched after, far and near, through the dark and scanty records of the time.

The causes which gave rise to this state of things made themselves universally felt all over the length and breadth of Europe: and hence the effects were everywhere the same. So early as the reign of Charles the Bald, what were afterwards called the feudal castles, began to spring up all over France, in proportion as the various bands of Normans extended their ravages. "The territory," says M. Guizot, "was seen to cover itself in all directions with these places of strength, of refuge, against a violence and a danger that were ever imminent: war was everywhere at this epoch, it was natural that everywhere, the gaze should be met by the monuments of war." Throughout all the Germanic countries (more especially along the borders of Helvetia and the banks of the Rhine), if we except those of episcopal or monastic origin, we may say the cities nearly all took their rise in those places of refuge,—

immense and rude enclosures—to which the people had to fly from the arrows and the Scythian speed of the Hungarians. It is from their having abounded in such castles, the two famous provinces of Spain are called, the Old and the New Castille.

"At that period," says Muratori, "direful were the agitations, and not few the woes and dangers, to which Italy found itself a prey. Never-ending were the sanguinary struggles, between the rival potentates who aspired to the crown. All the south and the adjacent regions, were at the mercy of the Saracens. The Moorish corsairs of Fraxineto spread terror and havoc far and wide, around the Alps, and along the lovely shores exposed to their attacks by land and sea. But that which most of all set the Italian brain to devise new means of escape and refuge, was the incredible ferocity of the Hungarians. These were the causes which during the 10th century occasioned the face of things in Italy to assume such a novel and strange appearance."

This writer then proceeds to quote a variety of ancient charters by which bishops are licensed and encouraged to fortify their cathedral cities "for the defence and protection from plunder, of the holy Church."* Other charters of a similar kind are given—as one for instance, A.D. 909, to the canons

* "Fossata cavare, portas erigere, et super unum milliarium in circuitu ecclesiæ civitatis circumquaque firmare, *ad salvandam et defendendam ipsam sanctam ecclesiam.*" Date, A.D. 893. *ap. Murat. Dissertaz. Disser.* 26. p. 422.

of Verona—to erect fortifications *pro persecutione Ungarorum:* another on account of "the most dire incursion of the ruthless Hungarians—*maximâ sævorum Ungarorum incursione.*" Another diploma specifies the various kinds of fortifications it shall be lawful for the bishops to erect, viz: *castella, turres, merulos, munitiones, valla, fossas, fossata, cum propugnaculis.* The propugnacula were, what are called barbicans. The Abbot of St. Vincent's of Vulturnum gets a charter, by which the command of the towers and castles on the various lands of the said monastery, is always to be invested in the abbots. The date of this is A.D. 967. As for the monastery of our Blessed Lady at Farfa, the strong places under the sway of its abbots were counted by hundreds. Besides a great many walled towns, of which they enjoyed the seigneurie, 132 castles are counted as belonging to Farfa.

There are also such charters to communities of nuns; and by none were they more needed. There is one to an abbess, A.D. 912, giving license to build castles in befitting situations, *una cum besticis, merulorum propugnaculis, aggeribus, atque fossatis;* and with all manner of defences against the stratagems of the Pagans, *omnique argumento* AD PAGANORUM INSIDIAS. Even confraternities, and the members of such of the secular professions as then existed, forming themselves into miniature republics, had their fortified places of refuge, and their castles.

But the greatest builders of the age were the mili-

tary chiefs. The dukes, the conti, the visconti, the valvassors, the capitanei, the rural lords, the scabini, all the state officers and the nobility from the highest to the lowest, began from those times to be known by the common title of Castellani, or gentry possessed of castles. And thus things went on, until all over the face of the land there had sprung up such an infinity of castles, fortresses, towers, and what are now, and were then also, called roccas, (meaning the same thing as acropolis, amongst the Greeks,) that there was no counting them, their number was so great. This we should have known to have been the case, from such monuments as strike the eye of the traveller on every side, throughout the Papal States, even if history had been silent on the subject. The proofs of what is here stated are to be met with, in every page of the introductory chapters of these volumes.

Just and urgent,—even laudable and holy, as were the motives and instincts out of which arose this universal arming for war, and this devising of means for repelling attacks, which were aimed not only at the destruction of property, liberty, and life, but of all that is most divine in religion, and most sacred in the estimation of honour and of virtue; still, this state of things, when it became rooted in the soil, to the utter extinction of all the ordinary forms and sanctions that hold society together and guarantee its security and order, became an inexhaustible source of every species of outrage,

and of consequent misery, to the most fearful extent.

As M. Guizot observes, the castles and roccas, from being places of refuge, when the Saracen hordes, and the still more terrible Hungarians were sweeping like a hurricane of blood and conflagration over the open country and along the valleys, but too speedily became so many nests of banditti—more formidable than Saracen or Hun, to all the peace-loving classes, such as the cultivator of the soil, the churchman, the trader, and the pilgrim. Theirs was an invasion that knew no truce or respite. Amidst the universal terror and break up of the system in which the laws of the magistrate and of religion had been supreme, the most desperate and lawless spirits had naturally found their congenial element; and the terror stricken, and all who felt themselves too weak to stand alone, were as naturally driven round such characters for defence and safety.

"It became necessary," says Robertson,* "for every man to have a powerful protector, under whose banner he might range himself, and obtain security against enemies whom he could not singly oppose. For this reason he relinquished allodial independence, and subjected himself to the feudal services." The increase of the anarchy, and of the local chieftain's influence and power went hand in hand. The arrows and the lances of the invader,

* Charles V. Proofs and Illustrations.

that strewed with carcasses, the highways and the fields, that reduced cities and hamlets to heaps of crumbling ruins, were continually recruiting his ranks with the fugitives. The dictatorship which he was implored to accept of, in the hour of agonizing danger, was still as securely his, when the whirlwind had done its worst. He had claims on gratitude; he had power to hold what was in his grasp; and from the battlements of what was at once his stronghold and his throne, (the value and the strength of which had been tested,) the view of the enemy careering in the sunshine over the devastated plains and valleys, like beasts of prey, and the horizon in a blaze by night, with flames of burning towns, monasteries, homesteads, and churches, were so many irresistible arguments for the necessity of prolonging his domination. Thus it was that every man who had possessed previously to, or had seized on a strong position during, the flight and the confusion, and had fortified it, and gathered around him a certain force of armed followers, became an autocrat. Within the surrounding locality, his will —a fierce and capricious tyranny—was the only law within that region; all who dwelt, or sought shelter, there became his vassals; all who ventured to pass through it, or to approach its frontiers, were doomed to be plundered and ransomed at his pleasure. Oftentimes, they escaped not from his grasp, but at far dearer forfeits.

These strongholds and castles became refuge places

for other relics of the Carlovingian era, besides the living fugitives of every costume, race, class, and order, who fled to them from the pursuit of the invaders. With a fanfaronade of welcome they lowered their drawbridges to whatever belonged to its opulence, its luxuries, its arts, or its amusements. Of that once bright and gorgeous world, there was now to be seen but some fragments, lacerated and scattered, or sinking amidst that boundless chaos which had dashed it to pieces, and was fast absorbing and confounding all things within itself. Feeling himself a despot, each lord of a castle aspired to the state of royalty; and in numberless mountain forts, and strongholds of red-handed banditti, there was an aping, more or less grotesque, after the state which a Charlemagne or a Lothair had, in their times, endeavoured to copy from the Roman Cæsars. All this did not spring up at once. The feudal, like every other system, had its progressive growth. But it was not long ere each of these castle-kings had his count of the palace, his seneschal, his marescalco, his esquires, falconers, pages, varlets, equerries, not omitting the buffoni, joculatori, singers, jesters, and in a word, the adepts in profligacy and rough merriment of all sorts, in which the petty tyrants delighted amidst their carousals, after the hazards of the chase, or the heartrending atrocities of the foray.* One of the many ephemeral emperors of that crisis-time of anarchy was seized with astonishment at the

* Vid. Guizot. Cours d'Histoire Moderne, t. 4. p. 185, 186.

state with which he was received by one of the Italian princes. "This man a marchese?" he exclaimed, "call him a king, right out, for here we have the riches and the display of royalty."* The tears, the sweat, the blood, and the curses of the oppressed, the helpless, and the plundered, were mingled with the treasures by which this wicked magnificence was maintained.

Nor was there almost any earthly hope of redress for the innumerable and daily victims of these fortress nobles. The so-called kings, even if they had the will—and they had not, for they were foremost in every outrage—had not the way of redress, within their power. They were much less the masters than the slaves or puppets of the lawless barons, who set them up or hurled them down, as it chanced to accord with their ever-shifting interests, or the delirium of their caprice. An old chronicler observes shrewdly of those petty despots, that they were always anxious to have at least two kings in Lombardy, for by such an arrangement, the stage was clear for each of themselves to play the tyrant, on his own account. Tyrant and king are used as convertible terms in the writings of this horrid epoch. Even at the terrors of the Church—the forlorn hope of all who could not live by force, the husbandman, the merchant, the orphan, the widow, the peace-loving

* "Hic rex potius quam marchio potest appellari. In nullo quippe mihi est inferior nisi solummodo, nomine.—*Liutpr. Histor.* l. 2. c. 10. This was, in or about A.D. 900.

of every sex, order, age, and the poor—these monsters in human shape, had well nigh ceased to tremble.' Hardly one of them but had usurped a church, a diocese, an abbey, or all three together; and thus had priests, and bishops, and abbots, of his own. Exceptions there may have been, but almost everywhere, the chief sees, the richest churches, the monasteries having the most numerous and the richest possessions, were in the hands of nobles; and most assuredly, the prelates, the priests and monks, who entered the holy place under such auspices, were not the generation to take up the office of a Nathan or an Ambrose. For such, it was their vocation to enjoy their livings; to be ever, through right and through wrong, on the side of their tyrant patron or kinsman; but never, even though he wallowed in the sink of lustful violence, or plundered the weak, or waded to the hips in the blood of the injured and of the innocent, to denounce, or be against, him.

"One day," says St. Peter Damian, in his life of St. Romoald, "there came to the cell of the holy hermit, one of these dreaded tyrants, a Count Olibanus. He rode proudly to the lowly threshold, surrounded by a brilliant suite, and by not a few of the bishops, priests, and abbots, who belonged to his dependency. Leaving them outside, he entered, and *solus cum solo*, began to recount his life to St. Romoald, as it were in confession, *quasi per confessionem*. The judgment of the anchorite sounded right novel and unpleasant to the victim of passions

hitherto unbridled and even unrebuked. It involved a total change of life, the sacrifice of all he had up to this, most cherished, and the practice of all he had most abhorred. 'None of the others,' he cried, 'have ever told me this!' The bishops and abbots of his court being summoned to his presence, with downcast looks confessed that St. Romoald was right, but that they had been afraid to warn him of his danger."* Nor can it be denied, that it required nothing short of the heroism of the priesthood to brave such culprits; for in their wrath at being rebuked, there are proofs that they surpassed the ferocity of the tiger, in inflicting vengeance. In some instances, indeed, their reprisals in this kind were of such a fiendish character, that one shudders at the bare recital of them. For hierarchs and clergy, however, such as had grown up in the sunshine of the rocca of some ferocious baron; or in the fortress castle of some count, or duke, or marquis, to whom they stood indebted for their preferment, and to whose kindred they usually belonged, the appetite for ignominious martyrdom was in the inverse ratio, with their greed for the high-flavoured ration, for the wine-cup—though capacious—still too stinted for its mulled and spiced contents; for jollity, in short, of all sorts, of the forest, the foray, the bower, or the castle hall.

"If from these eyries," says Guizot, "of the rapacious and blood-stained potentates, we descend

* "Acta Sanctor. VII. Februarii."—*Vit. S. Romualdi*, c. 4.

to the abodes of the serfs, by whom their domains are tilled and eared, we find them an aggregate of wretched cabins, huddled round the base of the craggy promontory or precipitous mountain, on which the tyrant is seated in security, on the look out for plunder or revenge.—The situation of the serf population," he continues, "resembles in nothing that of the indwellers of the castles above. Without fence or protection of any sort, they live eternally exposed to all sorts of dangers: a prey to bitter vicissitudes, which follow each other in uninterrupted succession. On their unoffending heads, is wreaked the fury of the storms which make up the existence of their masters. Never, perhaps, has there existed, under any other circumstances, a population so utterly and cruelly bereft of peace, of security, or abandoned to reverses, so violent, or so incessantly renewed. No matter what progress or amelioration took place elsewhere, this serf-population of the nobles felt it not. They were supremely wretched, and their destiny had this sting in it also, that it was eternally the same."*

The effect of all this was but too speedily visible in the changed aspect of the country. As after the invasion of the Lombards, it was once more changed to a desert. The forests became widely extended:

* Cours d'Hist. &c. t. iv. p. 226. See also Rhorbacher, l. 59. p. 492. The lives of these poor victims, and what is dearer still than life, all they possessed, *and all they were*—was completely at the feudal despot's mercy.

there was no hand to check or remedy the overflowing of the mountain torrents or of the great rivers, as might be seen in the spreading of marshes over parts, which were but recently most richly cultivated. The wild animals ranged over the open country, and often attacked the traveller, the lone shepherd, or carried away the children from the towns and the castle gates; the tame animals became wild, from growing up in the desert and hardly ever seeing the countenance, or hearing the voice of man, except in the chase or in war; and, on all sides, things were seen to lapse back into a savage state of nature.*

Whoever would find the clue through the labyrinth of the Papal States' history, from this henceforward, will be sure to waste his researches, unless he seek it here. The tenth century is the true turning point for all European history; and in this respect, at least, the history of the Papal States does not form an exception, though it does in almost every other instance. Here, amidst these dim and deformed scenes of anarchy of the latter half of the tenth century, we catch the first glimpses of those Roman barons, who are never off the historic stage,

* When the monks who effected the reform and revival in its pristine fervour of the Benedictine order, during the second half of this, and the first half of the following, century, begin to spread themselves over the country, they find it as above described, and select, *ad libitum*, "in the deserts," such places as seem best to suit their purpose.—*Vid. Fleury, Hist. Eccl.*

from this until a comparatively recent epoch, and who seldom appear thereon, but in those feuds amongst each other, or against the Pontiffs, which have given rise to many a dark tragedy, not the less to be deplored because imparting to the pages which record them, all the exciting interest of romance. With but one exception, and that one is an ill-omened name; with this solitary exception of the Cenci, as yet, none of the names of the princely families, which make such a figure during the succeeding centuries, have emerged from the chaos. But, nevertheless, there they are. There, amidst the strifes and the catastrophes of that time of travail, big with a new order of society, the D'Este of Ferrara, the Travessari and Polentani of Ravenna, the Malatesti of Rimini, the Pepoli and Bentivogli of Bologna, the Ordelaffi of Forli, the Alidosi of Imola, the Conti di Montefaltro in Urbino, the Varani in Camerino, the De Vicos in Viterbo, with I know not how many others in every province, contado, city, castle, and mountain rocca, are already struggling in embryo for the mastery. Even on the proud Colonna, who so long looked down with disdain on many a royal house, as but of yesterday, or on their great rivals the Orsini, or on their respective allies the Annibaldi, the Savilli, the Conti, and so many others, the dawn of history has not yet broken. Their ancestors, beyond doubt, are not the hindmost, or the least conspicuous among those gorgeous bands

of horsemen, who have poured out from the Seven Hills, through the Flaminian gate, and the gate of Saint Peter, in the year of grace 916, to give such a welcome to Berenger of Friuli, as becomes the prince on whom Pope John X. has resolved to confer the imperial title. The most terrible of the sanguinary denizens of the forest—represented in effigy, or, may be, by the skins of the animals themselves, such as wolves, bears, and lions, not to speak of fiery dragons, and other equally dreaded monsters of the fancy—were the standards under which they marched, and under which, no doubt, they won by their valourous deeds the surnames of which their descendants were so proud. The Colonna are said to have been of Tusculum, the native city of the Catos. But to come to the birth-place of a generation of Roman princes, who are on the wane, or have already sunk into oblivion, before these great baronial families of the feudal era replace them on the scene, we must once more betake ourselves to the city of the Pontiffs.

How strangely transformed is its appearance, since last we surveyed it! It is no longer one vast city, inhabited by a people, subordinate to a discipline and an order the most perfect. It has become an aggregation of strong places, bristling with war-towers, and all alike prepared for onslaught, or to repel attack. It is the theory of Niebuhr, with regard to the city of Romulus, that on each, or at least on the chief of the Seven Hills, there was a

separate town, at the time the outlaw entered on the scene. Behold, the age of Romulus returned. The Stefaneschi were lords on the Janiculum, and of all beyond the Tiber; at the opposite extremity, are the Frangipane entrenched on the Palatine, with their head-quarters in the Flavian amphitheatre. In another region, the Massimi rule the day. The Conti, or some other strong-handed progeny, who were their predecessors there, have seized the Capitol. In short, it is not alone the hills that are occupied and begirt with separate lines of defence, and garnished with bastions, and towers, so grim in aspect, and so lofty, that they look as if they would hurl defiance at the beauteous sky above them, as they do in reality at everything on the earth beneath,—not one of the ancient ruins, the arches of triumph, the amphitheatres, mausoleums, the fragments of the temples, baths, or palaces, but has been taken advantage of, for the purposes of defence from the pursuit of, or of annoyance to, a passing foe.

But the grand object in the strife, was to get possession of the tomb of one of the greatest of the ancient Cæsars. The Mausoleum or Mole of Hadrian, besides being proof against every attack, had command of the Pons Ælius, the only bridge in those times, connecting the right and left banks of the Tiber, within the walls. Hence it enabled those who held it to levy tolls and contributions at their discretion—in other words, to fleece and plunder

all who had to pass, on either business or devotion, whether from the Roman side, to the *Limina Apostolorum*, or from the Saint Peter's side of the river —that is, from the whole world of the west and beyond the Alps, into the eternal city. Wherefore, whoever was master of Sant' Angelo, was dictator of Rome. He was considered to hold the key, in every sense, of the Papal city. One who saw it in A.D. 962, has left us the following description of the appearance presented by this famous citadel at that time. From the title it went by, it is plain that, using as a basis the original structure, (which is far more remarkable for its indestructible solidity with a certain air of majestic elegance, than for any extraordinary elevation,) there had been erected on it, a castle of amazing height, that it might be in the fashion with the multitude of castles, which lifted their proud turrets and battlements to the sky, from every vantage point, on mount, or ruin, within the vast circuit of the Seven Hills.

"As you enter Rome," says the writer in question, "there stands a certain fortress, of structure not less wonderful for its strength, than for its architectural perfection. In front of its portals, there is built over the Tiber, a bridge of most precious material and a masterpiece of art. For one entering Rome or taking leave of it, there is no avoiding this bridge. Over it he must pass. Except by it, there is no other way of getting across the Tiber. And over this, except by permission of those who hold the fortress, there

is no passing, either. But as for the fortress itself, not to speak of any other feature of it, its altitude is so great that, the Church which is constructed on its summit in honour of the Archangel Michael, Prince of the celestial legions, is commonly known as "Ecclesia Sancti Angeli, usque ad cœlos"—or as one might render it—San Michele's *in the skies.**

During the 10th century, this fortress is the key of Rome: it is also the key of the Papal States' history during the same period. Within its impenetrable walls, were hatched those dark and sacrilegious plots, the tragic results of some of which we have already seen, and not a few of which we have, alas, as yet to witness.

In the year 954, the usurper Alberic II. was called to his dread account: and, after his death, we are told by Frodoard that Octavianus, his son, succeeded to his power. The sway of this family had long since become consolidated in Rome, and it began to be regarded as having acquired a kind of prescriptive sanction, from having held the tyranny, together with the great citadel, for now close on sixty years. Theodora, the mother of Maroza, was in possession of Sant' Angelo at the close of the 9th, and far into the 10th century: Alberic II. never lost hold of it from the year 926, (when he took it from his mother Maroza and King Hugo), until at

* Liutpr. Hist. l. 3. c. 12.

his death he relinquished it to his heir. In the person of the latter, who at this period could hardly have more than emerged from boyhood (it being highly improbable, as Cardinal Baronius has proved, that he had attained even to his sixteenth year), the detestable evils arising out of the enslavement of the Apostolic See, were destined to be exhibited in their fullest enormity.

On the demise of the great and good Pope Agapitus II. in the year 956, the son of Alberic, not yet eighteen years of age, usurped the keys of the Apostle, as well as the sceptre of his temporal power. He caused himself to be elected Pope, an ever wakeful Providence, no doubt permitting the occurrence of this scandal ("for scandals there must be") in order that all future ages might be shocked into the conviction of, how fatal a calamity it is, to allow the see of St. Peter to be stripped of its temporal independence.

It was from the hands of this Pontiff that the first of the Germanic Cæsars, Otho the Great, received the imperial crown. He had taken the name of John at his consecration, and is usually known as John XII. but the ancient annalist, who tells us the precise day on which Otho was crowned in St. Peter's "with incomparable magnificence," says, "he was blessed by Pope Octavian," on the festival of the Purification which fell upon a Sunday.

* Epidamnus, in Annal. ap. Murat. an. 962. p. 231.

The feasting and rejoicing with which the Romans celebrated the coronation of the first Otho, were destined ere long to give place to tragedies of the darkest and most bloody description. This we shall discover in following out the history of Sant' Angelo's.

Ere twelvemonths have elapsed from the festivities of his coronation, the scene is reversed. The emperor Otho is seated on a throne in Saint Peter's, deposing the Pontiff, with whom he had feasted so lovingly, who had anointed him emperor, and blessed him, and placed the diadem of Charlemagne upon his head. All the court, and the marks of honour which were then paid him, are now exchanged for anathemas and the most opprobrious accusations; not that these charges, if true at all, are better founded now, than when the imperial crown was to be obtained, but because political differences have since arisen. Adelbert, the son of Berenger II. king of Italy, whom Otho had dethroned in the year 961, came to Civita Vecchia, from Fraxineto where he had taken refuge amongst the Saracens, and, contrary to pledges given by Pope Octavian to Otho, was allowed to come to Rome. The irregularities of the youthful Pontiff, were made the pretence; but here was the real scandal that inflamed the zeal of Otho. Both the young princes retreated into the mountains — probably those of Tusculum and Albano—as the superior forces of

the Germans were seen approaching. Their followers, however, not only in the city but in the surrounding districts were on the alert. The emperor had been engaged in the siege of the mountain fortress of San Leo (better known as Montefeltro in Urbino), where king Berenger—a tyrant-king, and a usurper of the Papal States, had fled for refuge, when the news that Prince Adelbert had come to Rome from Fraxineto, reached him. As soon as he had adjusted affairs at Rome to his liking, he sent back to Urbino the greater part of his army, to continue the siege. Thinking him more weakened than they afterwards found to their cost, the partizans of the two princes, Octavian and Adelbert, attacked his forces, and blood flowed in abundance in the streets of Rome, and more especially on the Ælian bridge. There, in front of Sant' Angelo's, the conflict raged with the greatest fury, around certain barricades, by which the Romans strove to prevent the Germans from passing into the city.

The battle seems to have been followed by some sort of compromise. Otho gives up their hostages to the Romans; hastens away to oppose Prince Adelbert, who, it is rumoured, is preparing to make head in the duchy of Spoleti, and is soon after joined in his camp by the anti-pope Leo VIII., who hardly escapes the fury of the Romans with his life.

Then, by a counter-revolution, the son of Alberic once more returns to avenge himself by barbarities over which history would fain cast a veil, *if they be*

true, a matter which is by no means certain.* Of this prince, whose inherited usurpation proved so fatal to the Church, to the Romans, and to himself, we have no portraits but such as are painted by those who were mixed up in these revolutionary broils, and who indulge in adulation of the German Othos, to an excess that provokes disgust. If *they* are to be credited, the end of John XII. was as infamous as the most fanatical enemies of the Church of Christ could wish it.†

We learn from the Chronicle of Farfa that, in addition to the other miseries, there was a direful famine in Rome, during the conflicts between Otho and Octavian. In the siege which took place immediately after his death, when Otho returned

* "Multâ cæde primorum in urbe debacatus," is the assertion of Gerbert, twenty-eight years after these occurrences.—*Vid. Baron. an.* 992. n. 19.

† The scandalous story is not only received, as gospel, by Sismondi, but the circumstances of it are embellished, and dwelt on with sarcastic glee; just as if John XII. was not the Pope of all others who ought to enlist the sympathies of the Sismondi-school of patriots and religionists, as being the genuine production of that system to which, they would uniformly subject the Apostolic See, but against which that see has ever protested, and must ever continue to protest. Had not the See of St. Peter been robbed of its sovereign independence, never would it have been profaned by such a pontiff as John XII. But he, being dictator or president of the Roman republic, very naturally, and in defiance of the canons, proclaimed himself head of the universal Church; just as did Henry VIII. in after times, in regard to that branch of it that was in England.

breathing nothing but vengeance for what had occurred, the city before it opened its gates, was again reduced to such extremity, that 30 denarii was the price of a modius of bran.* The anti-pope Leo VIII. was reinstated, and the legitimate Pontiff, Benedict VI., who had been elected on the death of John XII., was carried into exile beyond the Alps. A pestilence, by which a vast number of the nobility as well as of the commonalty of Otho's army, when retiring towards the north were swept off, was looked upon, at the time, as a judgment called down by the outrages thus offered to the holy see,† and to a successor of the Apostle, distinguished for qualifications of the highest order, and for his saintly life. Some of his clergy who went with Pope Benedict into exile, became the apostles of the Pagans along the Baltic. After his death they brought his body back to Rome, and interred it in St. Peter's.

The next dynasty, if we may so express it, that reigned in Sant' Angelo, were the Cenci. Crescentius, the Latin form of the name, is that in which it usually occurs in the writings of the time; but the popular form of Cencio is found in the ancient chronicles both of Farfa and of St. Vincent's of Vulturnum. Sigonius also has it in the abbreviated Italian form.

Where the signature of any of the members of

* Chron. Farfa, Rer. Ital. scrip. t. 2. par. 2. p. 476.

† Vid. Murat. Ann. an. 964. p. 247.

this mighty race occurs in the ecclesiastical annals—as is the case on several occasions so early as the second half of the 10th century, it is invariably written Crescensius. Baronius says the Cenci or Crescensii were originally of Nomentum, and we find them constantly mixed up, during this reign of violence and confusion, in the transactions connected with the monastery of Farfa, seated amongst the Crustumian hills, and in the Nomentan country; but in the latter half of the 10th, and all through the 11th century, the Cenci are met with in the exercise of such a tyrannous ascendancy over the destinies of Rome and the surrounding regions, as their imitators of after times, the Colonna or the Orsini, never attained to. We find them seizing towns and castles in the Agro-Romano, far and near, and holding them in defiance of Popes and Emperors. The usurpations and the outrages of the Cenci are the burden of many a debate in placits held in the basilicas of Rome, during this turbulent era. When the day seems to incline against them, and that, where the issue is to turn upon LAW, whether Roman or Lombard, it is evident their defeat is certain, we see them taking horse with their followers, and bursting away through whatever opposes them, to some one of the many fortresses, throughout the ancient cities of the Latin, Etruscan, and Sabine lands, which they have seized and keep hold of, with the strong hand. From the ancient Cere in one direction, to their castles far off along the highways and up the Tiber

and among the highlands around Farfa, in another: and thence on to Palestrina, extends their reign, and further still, their ravages and deeds of outrage and of blood. Then we see martial bands of horse and foot marching out to lay siege to their strongholds, one time through the gate of San Pancrazio, another time through the Porta Salara, up the Tiber; or again, towards another point of the horizon, through the gate of St. John. But seldom are they destined to return victorious, and leading captive the outlawed barons. Their strongholds were not to be carried by assault: they were too well stored with plunder to be reduced by famine.

Within Rome itself, they had many castles: one of these was constructed on the ruins of the theatre of Marcellus, where the Orsini palace stood in after ages. On the opposite side of the Capitol, they must have had another fortress. Their name was given to a street or region in that quarter; in his life of St. Gregory VII., Paul Bernried assures us that, in various parts of the Eternal City, they had many castles. But from the time we speak of, the Mole of Hadrian became the head-quarters of their power, and afterwards acquiring a new name, became renowned as the "Citadel of the Cenci."

There we shall find them, at one time imbruing their hands in the blood of the successors of the Apostle, at another overawing the Pontiffs by their tyranny and brutal treatment. that under the sanction of their authority, they may more effectually

usurp the patrimony of St. Peter and make merchandise of the Apostolic office; to the scandal, this, and also to the disgrace, of Christendom that permitted it. One of them who is to make a terrible expiation of his impiety, we shall see driving the legitimate Pontiff from his throne, that he may sell the office of the Apostleship to a true disciple, not of Simon Peter but of Simon Magus, and keep the temporal sovereignty to himself. The spirit of wickedness that goads on the Cenci would appear to be something unconquerable and immortal. We behold them rising up more inflamed than ever with wrath against the chair of Peter, and more indomitable in their might and audacity, after the most overwhelming defeats. Hardly are the remains of one of them, who was hurled from the summit of Sant' Angelo, in the year 998, yet rotten in the earth, when we meet with a successor of his, very probably his son, wearing the significant title of APOSTOLICÆ SEDIS DESTRUCTOR, that is, THE SCOURGE AND DESTROYER OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE.

Such footprints as the steps, by which they won an entrance to this famous tower, have left on the darkness and confusion of those times, we find to be stained with blood; but whether spilt in feudal encounter, in open duel, or by treachery, it is impossible to say. The following is all the help we can glean from existing records, towards clearing up the obscurity in which their annals are enveloped.

In the year 966, the body of Count Rodfred

and of his son are stretched dead on the ground, covered with wounds and weltering in blood, at the feet of Giovanni, one of the Cenci.* This Count Rodfred, it is probable, had held the great fortress, from soon after the fall of the dynasty of the Alberics, in the person of John XII., up to this hour, which strips him, at once of the tyranny of Rome and of his life. At the head of a formidable band of armed followers, he had come in from some fortress or castle of Campania, in the preceding year, and in conjunction with Petrus, prefect of the city, laid violent hands on the then reigning Pontiff, John XIII. They dragged him, in the first instance, from the palace of the Lateran, which they had carried by a furious assault, and threw him into the dungeons of this castle of Sant' Angelo. They next dragged him from thence to some fortress in Campania, belonging to Count Rodfred.†

Eight years later, the interior of the fortress is made to witness a crime of the blackest dye—the strangling of Benedict VI., a most venerable and worthy Pontiff—*dignissimo Papa.*‡ In the year 972, he had succeeded to John XIII., the latter

* "Hinc est, quod postea Moles Hadriani, Crescentii arx appellata est."—*Platina in. vit. Greg. V.*

† "Hoc tempore Rodfredus Comes et Petrus præfectus, *cum aliis quibusdam Romanis*, Johannem Papam comprehensum et in Castellum Sancti Angeli retrusum, et in exilium demum in Campaniam missum, per decem et amplius menses affligunt. Herman. Contract. in Chron."—*See also Platina. in. vit. Joan. XIII.*

‡ Muratori, Ann. an. 972. p. 283.

having filled the chair of St. Peter with great honour and advantage to the Church, from the period of his restoration in 966, up to his demise. By Herman Contractus, the lord of Sant' Angelo who figures in this horrible tragedy, is called "Crescentius son of Theodora." The conjecture is not without foundation that this Theodora was of the Alberics. To a certainty, the latter family and the Cenci were allied to each other by inter-marriages. He gets on this occasion the popular name of Cencio, from Sigonius, and from both the ancient Chroniclers already named. The accomplice of the Cenci in this bloody sacrilege was also of one of the proud baronial houses of Rome. He is called Bonifacio of the Ferucci. Backed by the lord of Sant' Angelo, Bonifacio, — who was also surnamed Francone— forced himself into the vacancy which they had created by the worst of murders; and his acts while holding the Papal throne were not unworthy of the mode in which he ascended it. He stripped the tomb of the Apostle and his glorious basilica of all their treasures and costly ornaments, and escaped to Constantinople with the spoil, before the gathering indignation of Christendom had time to burst in vengeance on his guilty head. The Church never allowed this catiff's name in the roll of her Pontiffs. Donus II. was the successor of the murdered Benedict VI. He was succeeded by Benedict VII., who had been previously bishop of Sutri. This Pontiff was of the Alberics; but his conduct in the ponti-

ficate was such as to go far towards cancelling the dishonour attaching to the memory of his cousin-german, John XII.

As for the Cenci and the Ferucci, however, their partnership in crime, we discover, has not yet been dissolved. A good intelligence seems to have been kept up between the capital of the East, and Sant' Angelo; for we find Bonifacio returned to Rome on the first favourable opportunity, and again in league with Cencio. Pope John XIV., who had already been seated for nine months on the Apostolic throne as successor of Benedict VII., they seize as they had done with John XIII.; he also is thrust into the dark recesses of the "citadel of the Cenci." There he was destroyed by poison, according to one account; according to another, he was starved to death.* One of the venerable Pontiff's murderers, that is, Bonifacio Ferucci, who overflowed the measure of his enormities by once more usurping the see of the Apostles, was struck dead by the visitation of God, after a few months. His lifeless body being abandoned by his own followers, was laid hold of by the rabble, at whose hands it was made to suffer every most detestable and base indignity. As for the other, when we meet with him next, in less than two years from the death of his accomplice, he is still true to his destiny, as the scourge of the Apostolic see.

* "In Castellum Sancti Angeli relegatum, fame, ut perhibent, aut veneno, enecuit."—*Herman. Contractus, in Chron.*

As successor of the murdered Pontiff, another of the same name, John XV. was next elected. Martinus Polaccus and Tolomeo da Lucca inform us that he was a person of great erudition. They also refer to his writings. The reign of John XV. commenced in 985. "In 987," says Muratori, "Crescensio having in his power the castle of Sant' Angelo, commenced such a cruel persecution against him, that this excellent Pope was obliged to make his escape from Rome, and to take refuge in Tuscany. This did not exactly tally with the wishes of the 'consul,' the title by which Cenci, at that juncture, held sway over the city. He knew there was ready to restore the Pontiff, a force which it would be beyond his capacity to resist; he therefore sent a deputation to implore of him in the most suppliant manner, to return to Rome. In an evil hour for the Church, and for the honour of the holy see, Pope John was prevailed on to yield to these insidious entreaties; for as might be easily foretold, no sooner had he re-entered the gates of his capital, with all the hollow and deceptive honours of a triumph, than he found he had forfeited his independence, even for the administration of the Church. Most deplorable were the results. They deserve to be held by the Popes in undying execration. Though residing as he chose, either in the Lateran Patriarchate or at the Vatican, and apparently exempt from all restraint, Pope John XV. was made to feel even as head of the Church

(and all Christendom, ere long, resounded with indignation at the scandal), that Cenci, the tyrant of Sant' Angelo, was his master."

Thus, we are told by the chronicler of Salerno, that in the times of John XV., the temporal power was so completely usurped by those of the patrician order who had the upper hand at Rome, that is, by the Cenci and their faction, that their sway was a perfect "tyranny."* There were loud complaints in France, that the Roman Church, "the mother and head of churches," was under the constraint of "tyranny" — and thus disabled from acting with due energy and freedom in ecclesiastical government. Even to obtain access to the Pontiff, it was indispensable to pay in the form of presents, a heavy toll to the Cenci, either in money, or in valuable objects, such as precious jewels, fine horses, and the like. Those who were not prepared to take this course, found themselves excluded day after day from an audience, no matter how weighty or how urgent their affairs might be, even though in some instances the fate of dynasties and of the Church, in such nations as France, depended on the decision sought for.†

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* "Romani capitanei patriciatûs sibi TYRANNIDEM vendicavere."— *Romoald. Salernit. in Chron. R.I.S.* t. vii.

† "Peccatis nostris exigentibus provenire non dubium est, ut *Romana Ecclesia, quæ mater et caput ecclesiarum est,* PER TYRANNIDEM *debilitetur.*"—*Gerbert. ap. Baron. an.* 992.

The better to secure and extend this usurpation, the cause of so much scandal to the Christian world, and of detriment so grievous to the dearest interests of religion, we find that Cenci made use of his ascendancy to bring about a matrimonial alliance between the family of the Pontiff and his own. The possessions thus obtained, he knew, would be more secure as being guaranteed by the acts of the rightful sovereign, than if merely depending on such title as he could give, whose reign had originated in murder, and was only upheld by sacrilege. For a clear insight into these merely family intrigues, at a time when the most public and mo-

Allowance is no doubt to be made, and not a little either, on the score of over-colouring in the charges brought by the envoys of Gerbert of Rheims and of Hugh Capet, as if in the pontificate of John XV., there was no obtaining even access to the Pope, not to speak of a favourable consideration of any suit, unless by propitiating the tyrant who held the Pope under control. Resting, as they do exclusively, on the testimony of one who was smarting from the mighty downfall of his ambitious hopes, in consequence of a decision, as fatal for him as it was just towards the prelate he wished to supplant, and as such most honourable to the Apostolic see, these statements are to be received with suspicion, more especially as we have no guarantee that they were honestly edited. They come to us through the hands of the Centuriators of Magdeburg, who are allowed by the most eminent Protestant critics, to have dealt most unfairly with such documents, as they were the first to bring to light.—(See an Introd. to the Study of Ecclesiastical History, &c. by J. G. Dowling, M.A. of Wadham College, Oxford, p. 105—116. See also, Baronii Annales, ad an. 992. n. 2, et seq.)

mentous transactions of kingdoms and empires, are on account of the darkness and confusion of that age, to be rather guessed at than distinctly comprehended, we are indebted to the record of a discourse held to his monks by the abbot of Farfa, one day as they were seated according to custom in their chapter-hall.

It appears from this narrative of events, which occurred in the earlier days of Abbot Hugo, that the title of "the Greater," was usually given to Pope John XV., and that the tyrant of Sant' Angelo was known by the title of Cencio or Crescentio, *a Caballo Marmorio*; possibly because his hereditary palace was close by that equestrian statue in marble, which we saw pointed out by the pilgrim of A.D. 800. It is no easy matter to decide where it stood—whether on the Quirinal, near the Capitol, or close to the Theatre of Marcellus. Between the nephew then, of this Pope *qui appellatus est major*, whose name was Benedict, and Theoderanda, the daughter of Cenci, a matrimonial alliance was agreed to, Pope John assigning as a dowry, on the occasion, the whole province of Sabina *et plures alios.*

"Coming into this Sabine country," pursued the abbot, "the young people began to reside in the castle of Orco. At that time, the monastery was governed by my immediate predecessor, Abbot John, but too notoriously addicted to the pleasures and pursuits of a worldly life. The young countess Theoderanda began the drama that was to follow

by lavishing every most flattering attention on the Abbot. The dainties in which she knew he delighted, she cooked and prepared with her own hands. She would even serve up the good things herself, in her own dainty manner, when he sat at table and was feasted. In her visits, too, she was assiduous, and whenever anything occurred that prevented her going in person, the servants of the castle were to be seen ever going with some obliging message from the Lady Theoderanda, or returning with some suitable compliment from Abbot John.

"At this time, the hill-fortress of Tribuco was held of the abbot by Martin Riconis; but the rocca itself (the citadel of the place), which being built on an eminence still higher than the fortress town, had complete command of the latter, was kept by the abbot in his own possession. Whenever anything occurred to call him to a distance, this rocca he entrusted to his vassals of the lower fortress, that is, to Martin Riconis and his banditti, who used to give it up to him on his return. Now, these sons of Martin Riconis and their followers, being very ruffianly in their behaviour and abandoned to all manner of criminal and lawless courses, were given to plundering and maltreating of all such travellers and others, as they found journeying in the country round about. They in consequence brought home much odium and shame to the door of Abbot John; the which grieved him sorely, and went to his very heart.

"Partly to be rid of this desperate and wicked

clan, partly from the effect of so many flattering attentions which had greatly moved his heart in regard of Count Benedict and his spouse, the fair and flattering Theoderanda, and partly also through a hope with which both the count and countess had lured him on, of obtaining a most sumptuous and costly missal, which had been often exhibited to his longing gaze, with hints that, under a certain proviso, it should be his; unknown to everybody except to the monk Lupo, and Urso the canon, surnamed *de Malepassa*, the fortress town of Tribuco was made over to the Count and the Lady Theoderanda, by that sort of law-paper which is called a *tertium genus*, in the Roman courts.

"The deed was regularly prepared; but when they—alleging that it had belonged to the count's uncle Pope John,—refused to give the mass-book, which was a most wonderful one by all accounts—worth not less than 30 lbs. of gold,—neither would the lord abbot sign the deed.* Then it was (as the first plan had not succeeded) the count and Theoderanda began to devise the means of getting Tribuco into their hands by some wily stratagem. To think of obtaining it by force they knew was useless, held as it was, vigilantly, by those who united cunning the most keen, with indomitable ferocity."†

The abbot then describes how they succeeded in

* "Ornamentum missale, quod, ut fertur, mirabile erat valde, pretii triginti librarum."—*Chron. Farf.*

† "Feroces et nimis astuti erant."—*Ib.*

getting possession of Tribuco, by treachery of the blackest dye. The leaders and most desperate of the brigands were lured to a feast within the walls of Orco. The sequel will be better imagined by the reader, than we could tell it. Withal, it was not until after a year's siege, that those who had remained in the hill-fortress could be brought to surrender. But no sooner were the Cenci in possession of this fortress, which seems to have commanded the whole seigneurie of Farfa, than they seized upon and subjugated, the whole country round about to their dominion.*

From his having weakly acquiesced in the usurpation of Cenci, there attaches an indelible stigma to the name of John XV., which, but for this one drawback, must have stood high amongst the greatest and most honoured of the Pontiffs. It appears, however, that the tyrant did not hesitate to resort to violence, whenever his captive could not otherwise be brought to bend to his dictation. In the placit held at Rome by Otho III. and Gregory V., immediately after the death of John XV. in the year 996, an impeachment was brought against Crescentius: "because that he had repeatedly LACERATED WITH INJURIES the preceding Pope."†

* "Quo ingressi cuncta vicinia, nostrique Monasterii prædia, et Sanctæ Andreæ, atque Romanorum, sibi subjugarunt."—*Ib.*

† "Habito cum Romanis placito, quemdam Crescentium quia

These things happened in the summer of 996, early the next year we look to the great citadel, and lo, the banner of the Cenci is floating from the summit of Sant' Angelo, once more; all Rome with its dependencies, are in his power. At last, he has succeeded in placing a man after his own heart, in the chair of the Apostle. "Long accustomed to command," says Muratori, "reckless of the oaths of fealty by which he had bound himself, and forgetful of the claims of gratitude towards the Pontiff, Gregory V., but for whose intervention he would have been banished (a mild punishment for crimes such as his), Crescentius entered on so sharp a persecution of Gregory V. (as soon as Otho III. had withdrawn,) that, stripped of everything, he was forced to fly, and with difficulty escaped with life.* Crescentius then usurped the supreme authority.† When the Pope's legates came to Rome, he seized them, and threw them into prison. The sentence of excommunication was fulminated against him by the Pope, who had taken refuge at Pavia; but Cenci defied and scornfully derided the anathema. Nay more, as if there was no God to punish, no human

priorem papam *injuriis sæpe laceraverat*," &c.—*Annal. Saxon. ap. Eccard.*

This is a testimony not liable to the objections, justly alleged in a former instance.

* "Obbligó Gregorio V. afuggirsene da Roma, *nudus omnium rerum*, e à mettere in salvo la vita."—*An.* 997.

† "Crescenzio intanto *imperium sibi usurpavit*."—*Ib.*

power that could cope with his own, he rushed headlong to the most shocking extreme of wickedness. This is said in allusion to his having made a bargain with a certain Greek, named John Philogathus, to set him up as Pope, provided he would consent to restrict himself altogether to the spiritual government of the Church of God, leaving to Cenci the management of the temporal power.*

"Although I have said enough elsewhere," observes Muratori, "to make known what sort of character was this John Philogathus, now set up as anti-pope by Cenci, it may be not unwelcome to the reader to have placed before him, his portrait as it is sketched by the hand of the ancient Saxon chronicler. — 'This John Philogathus,' says this honest Magdeburgher, 'was a Greek by birth; by condition he was a slave; and for guile and artifice he was without an equal. The first time he made his appearance at the court of Otho the Great, it was in the habit and character of a mendicant; and for the daily rations by which he was supported like the rest at the palace gates, he was indebted to

* "Si accordarono insieme, che il governo temporale di Roma restasse a Crescenzio, ma sotto la protezione e sovranità degl' imperadori Greci, e Giovanni fosse creato papa, con contentarsi del governo spirituale della chiesa di Dio."—*Muratori. Ann.* 997, p. 380. Behold, of what a venerable antiquity and highly honourable parentage is the scheme, so extolled by many at the present time of *secularizing* the Papacy, as they say. Truly, there is "nothing new under the sun!"

a word from the Princess Theophania, all-powerful with her father-in-law, the emperor. The young Greek princess first noticed him, because he preferred his petition in her beloved language. By this ladder, the supple adventurer contrived to climb so well, that step by step—and ever by favour of the Greek princess (spouse of Otho II.)—he at length stood amongst those highest at the imperial court,—*pene inter primos*—and so he continued until the Empress Theophania, while still in the bloom of life, was borne like her imperial husband, Otho II., to an untimely grave. The court of a king but yet a child (Otho III. was still in boyhood when deprived of both his parents), was just the sort of element in which such a genius as the Greek possessed, was sure to flourish. He got himself appointed to the see of Piacenza—(he had already attained the abbacy of Nonantula, the richest in all Italy), and ejected therefrom by force, and in the most ignominious fashion, the canonically elected pastor. The manner in which he governed that church, was of a piece with the arts by which he obtained an entrance to it—he reigned only to devastate and destroy.' Such was the Pope—one of Cenci's selection—who was ready to *secularize the government of the States*—" that he might, forsooth, devote himself exclusively and with greater efficacy to the spiritual concerns of the Church of God."

The partners in usurpation and sacrilege did not long continue to enjoy their partition of the inherit-

ance of the Apostle. The greater delinquent of the two was the first to be overtaken in his crimes; and his fate was as horrible as the savage brutality of a most barbarous age could render it. When the tidings reached him that Otho III. was hastening at the head of his armies, to put an end to the reign of his colleague Cenci and himself, the wretched Philogathus set to work with that cunning for which he was renowned, in order to escape the impending storm. But all in vain. He fell into the hands of the Romans, who under the incitement of their base and ferocious passions knew no mercy. From what St. Peter Damian says, in holding him up as a warning to another anti-pope, Cadolaus (of whom more hereafter, in connection with the Cenci), it would appear that the ill-starred Greek was overtaken in the mid-career of his flight, after having escaped from Rome. He applies to what then occurred, the following awful denunciations of Ezekiel—"And they shall come upon thee, well-appointed with chariot and wheel, a multitude of people. They shall be armed against thee on every side, with breast-plate, and buckler, and helmet; and I will set judgment before them, and they shall judge thee in their judgments. And I will set my jealousy against thee, which they shall execute upon thee with fury: they shall cut off thy nose and thy ears, and what remains shall fall by the sword."*

* Ezekiel, xxiii. 24, 25.

Over and above what is menaced by the prophet, the anti-pope when apprehended had his eyes plucked out; and when they had brought him back to Rome, they placed him on a donkey with his face to the tail. Then, forcing the hapless being to hold the tail of the animal in his hands, and, ever and anon, to repeat the words (which it is likely they also inscribed upon a label fastened to his body):—"BEHOLD HOW USURPERS OF THE PAPAL THRONE ARE PUNISHED!" they paraded him through all the regions of the city.* From the account in the life of St. Nilus, who interceded with the Pope and the emperor in behalf of his wicked but unfortunate countryman (who had ever slighted his warnings and exhortations), it would appear that the scene just described, did not take place until after Philogathus had been deposed in the Pope's presence, and degraded as the canons prescribe, by having the pontifical vestments roughly torn off his person. But though living at the time, the biographer of St. Nilus seems to have had any thing but a correct idea of these transactions, or of the order in which they took place.

As for Cenci, the prime author of so many crimes, the great citadel, so long the corner-stone

* "Mox ante retro conversum in asello gloriosum equitem posuerunt, tenentemque sui vectoris caudam in manibus, per publicam totius Urbis viam, hæc ut caneret impulerunt: tale supplicium patitur qui Romanum Papam de sua sede pellere nititur." —*St. Petr. Damian. Ep. 2da ad Cadal.*

of his domination was the high place on which, before the gaze of countless multitudes of all nations he, according to one version of the story, was beheaded. Twelve others—apparently the members of Cenci's Roman Senate—were executed with him. The fierce and exasperated Otho, caused the headless bodies to be hung from the parapets on which the ill-fated tyrant had so often gazed with haughty eye and swelling breast, as if there, was to be the citadel of those who were to hand down his power and his name to the remotest ages.

This is the account adopted by Muratori, from Ditmar and the Saxon annalist: a different story is told by Glaber Rudolph, a monk of Clugni, who wrote not long after these transactions happened. When Crescentius, says Glaber, had certain tidings that Otho was approaching, with his followers, he shut himself up in a tower which is outside the city beyond the Tiber, and which they call "inter cœlos," on account of its astounding height.—There he prepared to defend himself to the death. This tower the armies of Otho beleaguered round about, leaving to those who were inside no possibility of escaping, or of receiving assistance from without. At the same time they prepared to attack it from castles, constructed from huge beams, with which they had surrounded it on every side. Seeing at last, that there was no hope but in humbling himself before the conqueror, Crescentius by the connivance of some of the emperor's officers suc-

ceeded in making his way from the fortress into his presence; and when there, falling down at the emperor's feet, he implored of him to spare his life. After regarding the prostrate Cenci for a moment with silent scorn, the stern Otho, his countenance darkening as he spoke with the wrath that filled his breast, thus addressed his rebuke to the nobles who were standing round him in his tent: "Why have you permitted this prince of the Romans; this mighty one, who makes emperors and unmakes them; who alters the constitutions of States; who can even pull down or set up Pontiffs, at his pleasure, to demean himself by stooping to enter the lowly hovel of a Saxon? By the same way you have conducted hither his High-Mightiness, take him back to the throne of his sublimity, until such time as we shall have prepared for him a reception worthy of his deserts."* Thus driven to desperation, Crescentius is represented as resisting with fury to the last. After the outer walls have been stormed and the main gate of the fortress battered in, we can see him ascending from stage to stage, still fighting and battling like a tiger with his pursuers. When at last he is captured, he is on the very summit, bleeding from many wounds, and with a heap

* "Cur Romanorum Principem, Imperatorum decretorem, datoremque legum, ordinatorem Pontificum, intrare sivistis mapalia Saxonum? Nunc quoque reducite eum ad thronum suæ sublimitatis, donec ejus honori condignam præparemus susceptionem."—*Glaber.* l. i. c. 4.

of slaughtered dead around him; and from that same pinnacle it is, that they take him and hurl him down to the earth, so far beneath, that it made the brain reel even to look below. The crushed and shattered corpse was then dragged, tied at bullocks tails, through the castle ditch, and finally hung up to the public gaze, upon a lofty gallows.*

The catastrophe was different, but not less dark or terrible, according to the Italian writers. By Leo Ostiensis, St. Peter-Damian, Arnulph of Salerno, and Landolfo the elder, the archbishop and historian of Milan, we are told that it was on the sworn promise of Otho that his life was to be spared that Crescentius surrendered. To indulge in conjecture on the point is now to little purpose: while it is utterly impossible to decide with certainty between the two accounts. That of Glaber, as being the more romantic of the two, is very far indeed from being on that account, the more improbable. As he tells the story, it is in perfect harmony with the spirit of that age: but no matter which version we adopt, the tragic ending will be but in keeping with the auspices under which this second dynasty of Sant' Angelo—the Cenci—commenced to reign,

* Glaber, ubi supra. This writer adds that, in pronouncing his awful doom, the fierce Saxon said to those who came for his commands respecting the captive Cenci, then bleeding on the summit of the tower—"Let him be flung from the highest battlement. The Romans shall not have it to say, we robbed them of their prince by stealth."

and with those acts of darkest sacrilege, spoliation and murder, that compose throughout, the fasti of their usurpation.

The third of the kalends of May, A.D. 988, was the day of Cenci's execution: on the 18th of the February following, A.D. 999, Pope Gregory V. was no more. The manner of his death is involved in mystery. He is described as being of majestic stature, and as benign in aspect—*oculis vultuque decorus.* He was one of the most accomplished scholars of that age in which, as we shall see just now, there were some who shone with the brilliancy of stars amidst the surrounding night of ignorance. On account of the multitudes who resorted from all countries to the shrine of the Apostles, it was customary with him to preach in three different languages; in the Frankish, which was common to all of the German or Teutonic race; in the Latin, which at that time was very commonly spoken or understood throughout all the West; and finally in the "vulgar" tongue, as it is called. This, if we mistake not, is the first intimation, that the vulgar tongue of the inhabitants of Italy has ceased to be identical with that of the ancient Romans. To these labours, so admirable in the supreme pastor, he united another practice, not less edifying or less calculated to soothe the wild nature of his people and win them to more Christian manners. He was bountiful to the poor, and on every Saturday distributed gar-

ments to twelve of those who most needed them, in honour of the twelve Apostles.*

Here let us resume in a few words our judgment on the Popes of the second period of this darkest and most wicked epoch of the Christian era.

Benedict V., who succeeded John XII., A.D. 964, was a holy and much injured Pontiff. The companions of his exile became Apostles of the Pagan barbarians, and one of them is enrolled among the saints solemnly honoured by the Church. John XIII., who succeeded him, reigned from A.D. 965 to A.D. 972. The most impartial writers speak loudly in his praise. He was "un dignissimo papa," according to Muratori.† Benedict VI. fell a martyr by the hands of Cencio and of Bonifacio Ferucci. He has never been even accused by any writer. Donus II. reigned but a few months, and has escaped the breath of censure. Even by Platina, his successor Pope Benedict VII., is said to have been one of the "best of men,"—*Benedictus vir optimus.* John XIV., who succeeded was another of the martyrs made by the hands of the Cenci and Ferucci. To John XV. and Gregory V., we need not again refer.

* Vid. Baron. Ann. an. 999. n. 1. † An. 972. p. 283.

CHAPTER V.

The next Pope was Sylvester II. He ascended the throne of St. Peter on the second day of April, A.D. 999. His universal and singular acquirements would have made him a person remarkable in any age; in the barbarous times in which he flourished, they caused him to be regarded as a perfect prodigy. He wrote treatises on all the sciences, had mastered the philosophy of the ancients, and was strangely versed in astronomy. He was accomplished in dialectics, arithmetic, and mechanics. He shone in literature in all its branches. Ditmar, bishop of Meresbourg, and probably the most judicious historian of that time, informs us that Sylvester used to regulate a chronometer which he had presented to Otho III., by observations, made through a long tube, on the polar star.* Another ancient writer speaks in terms of astonishment of an organ he had constructed, and which he caused to play by an effect of boiling water.† He describes in his writings the mode of

* "Optime callebat astrorum cursus discernere et contemporales suos variæ artis notitia superare. In Magdaburg horologium illud recte constituens, considerata per fistulam quadam stella, nautarum duce."—*Menchenius, Script. Rer. Germ.* t. 1.

† This is probably the first instance in which steam is known to have been used as a motive power.

constructing an astrolab, a quadrant, a globe. This Pope was the first to introduce the system of numerals, at present adopted, and for many ages past in use amongst all the civilized nations of the globe.

He was the first to appeal to the sympathy and Christian enthusiasm of the West, in behalf of the Christians in the East, and more especially of Jerusalem—at that time most terribly persecuted and trodden under foot by Mahomedan fanaticism,—said to be insidiously but sedulously fanned and directed against its victims, by certain emissaries of the Jews. The Pontiff represents the holy city as appealing to the "immaculate spouse of the Redeemer," in the most affecting and noble language. "Though humbled to the dust," exclaims Jerusalem, "though made the sport of every cruel outrage, a scene of distress and of wailing; still is there in all the universe another spot so precious or so hallowed as is this? Here were the oracles of the prophets, the memorials of the patriarchs; from hence went forth the Divine flame with which the Apostles enkindled the Christian religion, and illuminated the entire earth. From hence the universe received the faith of Christ. Here it was, the long expected Deliverer was in the fulness of time revealed. And although equally present in all places by his divinity, here, nevertheless, is the region that was honoured and sanctified by the great mysteries of his appearance in the flesh. Here was he born; he suffered and was buried here; here is the scene of his resurrection, and of his as-

cension into heaven. According to the prophet, 'his sepulchre shall be glorious;' but infidels have destroyed the holy places, and the demons are endeavouring to have his tomb disgraced."

The epistle then proceeds with a stirring appeal to the Christian chivalry of the West, which, ere another century, shall have brought a liberator to Jerusalem, and at the same time started Europe on that career that is to carry her children, from the abyss of brutality to the highest pitch of military and intellectual glory.*

Yet, Sylvester II. was not a solitary light, but only the centre of a galaxy of hardly less brilliant stars. The formal discussion on the whole circle of learning which took place in Ravenna between himself and Otric of Saxony, while both were still attached to the court of Otho III., is a proof that he was not without a rival even in the sciences. He was bound by the ties of literary friendship and intercourse with the erudite and saintly abbot, Guerin, whose cloister of St. Michel de Cusan was a nursery of artists and accomplished scholars. Another of his contemporaries is Adelbold, the biographer of St. Henry the emperor. He may be justly placed on a par with Sylvester, or perhaps above him, especially for the depth and correctness of his views on history. His style, which he had formed on the study of the classic models, is not devoid of a certain energetic facility and grace.

St. Berward, bishop of Hildesheim, displayed a

* Ep. 28. Ap. Duchesne, t. 2.

still more comprehensive and brilliant genius. Of a noble family, from earliest childhood he had manifested the most singular powers of memory and aptitude for learning. When only four years of age he would listen attentively to the lectures of the priest Tangmar to the higher classes, and then playfully repeat them to his companions. From boyhood he delighted in the Scriptures. Even his recreations were so many protracted lessons, for so assiduous was he to acquire knowledge that, he did as much to store his mind with information and to bring its powers into activity, while riding on a journey or through the forests with his beloved tutor Tangmar, as when he was poring over his books. Hence he became perfect master of all the knowledge of the age. He was accomplished, not only as a scholar, but as an architect, as a painter, and as a musician. He was profoundly versed in the healing art, and wrought in the precious metals, as a goldsmith, with exquisite refinement. For the brilliant accomplishments, on account of which he stood pre-eminent amongst the princes of his time, the emperor Otho III. was mainly indebted to St. Berward, who had the charge of his education from his tender years. After he became bishop of Hildesheim, his vast influence was uniformly exerted for the advancement of the arts and sciences, and to promote the cultivation of genius wherever he could discover it. Of learning in every form, he was the most distinguished patron.

Those inmates of the cloister who were devoted to

transcribing books, he incited to renewed activity, and ere long succeeded in collecting a library consisting of a great number of works, and not confined to the subject of religion only, but also embracing such as appertained to philosophy and secular learning. He also formed a museum of the most curious objects that had been either sent as presents to the court, or that could be procured from distant countries. His cathedral he had adorned in every part with pictures. Mosaicists, carvers in wood, and all who displayed any peculiar talent, he encouraged and promoted. His consecration took place A.D. 993; and though still in the flower of his age, he is said to have surpassed the most aged prelates in the gravity of his demeanour. He devoted a great part of the night to prayer, assisting at the divine office with assiduity. After the solemn mass, he gave audience; then with his almoner he distributed alms and food to one hundred poor. He next visited the different works, in which he had various artists and great numbers of tradesmen and labourers employed; at the hour of nones, (a little before midday) he sat to table with a great number of his clergy, and of lay persons also; but always in silence, that the reader might be heard, and always observing an exact frugality.*

But the most brilliant literary phenomenon of the age of Sylvester II., was a nun, a recluse in one of

* Act. Bened., sec. 6. par. 1.

the most sequestered cloisters on this side the Alps. The lady Roswitha had been brought up from childhood in Gandersheim, and to the instructions she received within the precincts of that convent from her sisters in religion, she tells us herself, that she was exclusively indebted for all she knew. She wrote the "History of the Othos," which gives us the memoirs of the ducal and imperial house of Saxony, in a most pleasing form. She also wrote poems in hexameter verse on the following sacred themes— 1°. A History of the ever-blessed Virgin Mary. 2°. A History of the Ascension of our Lord. 3°. A History of the martyrdom of St. Gengoulph. 4°. A History of St. Pelagius of Cordova. 5°. The fall and the conversion of St. Theophilus. 6°. The History of Saints Protesius and Basil. 7°. A History of the martyrdom of St. Denis, the Areopagite. 8°. A History of St. Agnes. It may be questioned if such a preface as ushers in these poems to her readers, could be surpassed, or even equalled in the same language, by any one of the many distinguished female writers even of the present day. And the community of which Roswitha was a member, must have been as familiar with this language as herself: for the six or seven comedies, also written by this nun, in imitation of Terence, but with a virginal delicacy of sentiment and diction, were performed in the convent for the entertainment of the sisterhood and their pupils. These productions of a recluse who

was born before the middle of the 10th century, have naturally been viewed with wonder by the critics of the most enlightened times.*

Here, in Pope Sylvester and the galaxy of genius and learning with which we see him thus surrounded, we come upon a most startling inconsistency. It seems impossible to reconcile what has just been stated with what we have heard from such authorities as Baronius, as Muratori, and so many others, regarding the ignorance, the anarchy, the brutality of this, which they characterise — AND JUSTLY—as the darkest century since the birth of Christ, as that age which is disgraced by the greatest amount of violence of the most brutal character. Nor is this the only contradiction with which the records of this age present us. We have met with so much crime, with such scenes of enormous wickedness, in every quarter, and from the opening of the century to its close, that the feeling may have come upon us that, it must have been at this time with Christians, as it was with "all flesh" before the flood. We shudder and are afflicted, as if virtue had altogether fled the scene, whereon the passions were seen to riot in the most unbridled licence—regardless of all law, divine or human—bursting even

* "Revue des Deux-Mondes, 15 Novembre, 1839. Université Catholique, t. 6. p. 419. Hroswithæ Opera, Wittembergæ, 1707.—Ceillier, t. 19.

over the fences of the holy place in headlong fury, and trampling everything within it, no matter how awfully consecrated, under foot. But here again, as in the former instance, we are destined to be taken by surprise.

When we take a survey of Christendom at the period of which we write, we are seized with delight not unmixed with astonishment, at the vast number of brilliant examples of sanctity with which the Church is everywhere adorned; and what still more excites our wonder, is the incredible transformation brought about by their zeal and apostolic labours, in the minds and temporal condition, even of the Pagans of the north and east. But a little while ago, and we beheld the latter, assailing whatever belonged to Christianity with a fury that nothing could resist. They stormed, invaded, burned, plundered. They wasted with fire and sword, whatever they could not carry away. Setting on fire the harvests already ripe for the sickle, plucking up the vine-tendrils burdened with rosy clusters, and uprooting those fruit-trees that cannot be replaced for years, they drenched the sanctuaries with the blood of a holy priesthood; they overthrew the altars: the retreats of learning and piety, the nurseries of Apostles, the repositories of ancient art and elegance, they abandoned to the flames. The entire of Christendom they reduced to such a condition that nothing could describe it: no,

not even the language in which the prophet of the Lamentations bemoans the destruction of Jerusalem. We beheld it sinking beneath their incessant and ferocious onslaughts; their strokes we saw everywhere, dealing death and ruin without mercy, until the beauty, and the order, and the happiness of Christian society had disappeared utterly, and all was one dark, immense, and tempestuous scene of anarchy. Such, in vague and feeble outline, was the opening of the 10th age, behold now what a change! and the century has not closed as yet.

The Normans are already beginning to take the lead, in zeal for the recent object of their rancorous hatred and persecution. Those most terrible and ruthless enemies of the Christian name—the Hungarians—have an apostle and a saint for their king, who glories in his diadem, only because he has received it, and holds it, as the liegeman of St. Peter. The heathens of the north, the fierce Slavi are converted. Yes, that mysterious and irresistible movement of the barbarians of the east and north, which nothing has been able to repulse, or even to withstand for the last 1000 years, is effectually checked at last. What the legions of the Cæsars and the paladins of Charlemagne could not do, the saints of the 10th century have achieved; and Europe, the world of Christian civilisation, is at length imperishably constituted by the conversion of the Norman, the Sclave, and the Magyar. These conquerors who trod down the West like mire, were vanquished by the monks and

priests who sprung from the blood of the very martyrs they themselves had made, while we may say it was yet reeking upon their weapons. This is the achievement of the Church in the 10th, IN THE "DARKEST," AGE. The faith of Christ was planted by apostles sent by Rome, and educated at Rome during that century, on the soil of Hungary, Denmark, Scandinavia, Poland. All the tribes of the Sclavonic race, even the Russians, were in a great measure subjugated to the Gospel. In another direction also, beyond the Pyrenees, the cross was driving back the crescent. And thus it is, that if the *Acta Sanctorum*, which contain the immortal record of these victories, could be blotted out from the memory of the world, these facts alone, as indelible as its own verdure, must have been enough to satisfy the greatest sceptic, that during the 10th century the Church was adorned by many and by great saints.

Amongst the most remarkable for their apostolic labours and successes during this century, we find the blessed Bernon, founder of Clugni, (an abbey acknowledged to have been all through the 10th century, a school of sanctity and learning); St. Adelbert, apostle of the Slaves; St. Romoald, reformer of the Benedictines in Italy—an apostle in his own country and the preceptor of saints who converted tribes and nations; St. Stephen, king and apostle of Hungary; St. Bruno or Boniface, disciple of St. Romoald, apostle of the Russians; St. Sifrid, apostle of Sweden; St. Olaus, king of Norway;

St. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury; St. Bennon, bishop of Metz; St. Meginrade of Einsidlen; St. John de Vaudières; St. Gauzelin de Toul; St. Guibert de Gemblours; St. Kadroé; St. Maccalan; St. Foranna; St. Gérard de Brogne; St. Gérard de Toul; St. Odon of Clugni; St. Eude or Odo of Canterbury; St. Vinceslas, duke of Bohemia; St. Aimard and St. Mayeul of Clugni; St. Udalric, bishop of Augsbourg; St. Brunon, archbishop of Cologne; St. Matilda, queen of Henry the Fowler, and mother of St. Bruno and of Otho the Great; St. Adelaide, queen of Otho the Great; St. Nicon Metanoïte; St. Wolfgang, bishop of Ratisbon; St. John of Parma; St. Bernard of Menthon; St. Ethelwulf of Winchester; St. Oswald of Worcester; St. Edward, king; his sister, St. Edithe; St. Rosend, bishop of Dume, and cousin of King Alphonso the Great; St. Libentius or Lievizo, who accompanied Pope Benedict V. when dragged into exile; the great St. Nilus of Italy; St. Berward, bishop of Hildesheim. The Emperor St. Henry belongs to the next age. Surely it is not while surrounded by such children as these, resplendent for their sanctity and for the labours of the apostleship, crowned with the most miraculous successes, that the Church has seen all her glory depart from her, or that her Divine founder and defender has ceased to be "wonderful in His Saints."

These are no imaginary beings. They all lived, and laboured, and suffered, for the love of Christ

and to propagate his glory. Even on earth, theirs is the reward of the just: they are held in "eternal memory." Their works lived after them. The records of their evangelical lives and apostolic labours have been collected. But, as we have already observed, even if their authentic acts had not been handed down to us, the incredible transformation brought about, before the close of the tenth century, in the Pagan nations and tribes by whom all Christendom had been ruined and overthrown, at its opening, together with the immortal services rendered to the cause of knowledge and virtue, by the institutions which they founded amidst the terrors and unparalleled anarchy of that age, would, without any other proof, be more than sufficient to convince us that, it is not at a time when such wonders were effected by the Church, in the face of the most unheard of difficulties and disadvantages, that the Divine Paraclete, promised to abide with it "all days," had forsaken it.

Is it the gloomy picture, then, or is it the bright and glowing one, that is the fiction? Both descriptions cannot be true; for they appear to flatly contradict each other. The communion of things opposite and violently repulsive of each other, which this description of the tenth century supposes, is more repugnant than that of light and darkness: it seems to be a confounding of all that is most dia-

bolical with all that is most divine, in one fermenting mass; the crushing, and struggling, and inextricable mingling together, of angels and devils, in the same orgies, and in the conflicts of the same arena. Either, therefore, of the two contradictory statements must of a verity, be the offspring of an uninformed and overheated fancy. No; both the sketches are founded throughout, upon realities. In neither of them is there any thing put forward that is not capable of proof: nothing is over-coloured. Indeed, in painting the lights or the shadows of the tenth century, to exaggerate is impossible; because, as we have stated, extremes the most opposite were not so much blended, as abruptly confronted in the extravagant picture it presented.

This century, in fact, is uniform in nothing but in its deformity. Throughout, and from its opening to its close, its predominating features are, disorder, darkness, brutality and ignorance, the trampling of all things divine and human in the mire of the passions: reverses and transitions, violent, abrupt, unforeseen, and incessant. What is gloomy in it is not relieved by any steady light; but we see bursting through the clouds, from time to time, the coruscations of a genius, a knowledge, and a degree of sanctity and Christian zeal, the most astounding. The scene so revolting, from its horrors, of blood, of rapine, of outrage, and of tribulation, in every shape, and in excesses the most dire, we see traversed in every direction by saints

adorned with so many and such sublime virtues, and scattering such heavenly graces and blessings, that they appear less like the offspring of this wicked earth, than angelic visitants sent from above to save it. No other century, even in the middle ages, resembles this. It is the neutral, the transition century. As by marches or border land between two realms, the ancient Romanze world in which all knowledge was a retrospect, all improvement only an awkward imitation, and a thoroughly new social world in which originality and creative genius are stamped on every thing, are separated by this century. It witnessed the total dissolution of the ancient, and the birth of the new, order of society. It was, at once, a sepulchre and a womb. Enriched by the materials of the ancient civilization, (which have disappeared only to become incorporated through the process of ruin and dispersion with its soil), the West is now planted every where, in the most literal sense, by a renovated people; a people characterized at once, by the greatest variety and by the most perfect and vivacious unity. The races which had not entirely relinquished their nomadic tendencies, even low down in the Carlovingian era, are now, through the innumerable castles scattered over the entire face of Europe—each the seat of a petty realm—as imperishably rooted in the soil, as is the verdure which is closer to it than a garment. Heretofore we have heard only of kings of the "Goths," of the "Franks," of the "East," or of

the "West, Angles," of the "Burgundians, or of the "Lombards;" princes, dukes, and counts, derive their titles, not from this or that other territory, or city, but from the race of men, the "Beneventine," the "Bavarian:" from the "Slaves," the "Hungarians," at whose head they marched, or in whose encampments they presided. It was as if all populations were considered to be on the march—as not so much inhabiting this or that region, as merely bivouacked upon it; and prepared at any time, should necessity, or gain, or glory, suggest it, to strike their tents, and move upon some other station. But now, all titles are from the land. It is not kings alone, or the more powerful of the subordinate princes who assume their designations from the countries over which they wield the sceptre; it is the pride of every petty noble, or penniless knight, to wear the title of some patch of territory, or of some grim, comfortless, cut-throat looking, pile of massive walls and towers, which he calls his castle, and which is in strictest reality, the capital of a petty realm. In this new state of things, the last vestige of the ancient centralization of the Romans, by which all idea of individuality was destroyed, was utterly blotted out, and the world ran into an opposite extreme. Individuality comes out in all its force. There was a clear stage for it to put forth its powers and reveal its character, in the absence of all systematic government, or guarantee for order. In fine, amidst that wild and universal scene of anarchy,

into which the Carlovingian world was plunged by the Saracenic, Norman, and Hungarian invasions, it was every man for himself. It was a time to call forth whatever there was of impulse, of proclivity, of aspiration, for evil or for good in each individual: it was the frantic saturnalia of all the inhabitants of the West. Let loose on a sudden from the control of laws and government, while as yet strongly agitated by those barbarian impulses from which there had not been time to thoroughly reclaim their nature, they were abandoned to the suggestions of those same impulses and violent instincts, without a shadow of those restraints from police, from opinion, or from any of the other devices of civilization, which have long been regarded as the indispensable safeguards of society.

That mysterious conflict described by St. Paul, as having its arena in our members—in our bodies "of this death"—wherein grace and sin, the old Adam and the new, all that is most divine and pure and heavenly is in mortal duel with the powers of darkness for the mastery of man's being, (his will, though sorely tried, being thoroughly free, nevertheless, to choose its side in the conflict,) had never since humanity was redeemed been waged with greater outward signs of violence, than in that age. Not less pre-eminently was it an age of faith, than it was an age of headlong impulse and unbridled passion; and hence the sudden and violent transitions, the rushing into opposite ex-

tremes, so uniformly marking its leading characters. They seem to be driven incessantly to and fro, by the violent conflict of the opposing powers striving within them for the mastery. The anarchy of the external world was found in miniature, but withal in concentrated intensity, within the breasts of individuals; nevertheless, it was at this birth-time of the nations, as it was at the forming of the material universe— the Spirit of God was brooding over the travailing elements.

Never had such universal turbulence and feudal struggle reigned in Europe, either before or since, as then prevailed: yet never was the unity of the Christian nations so complete. The Hun and the Celt, the Spaniard and the Slave, the Sicilian and the Norman, Lombard, Saxon, Frank, as well as the aboriginal races, have all but one religion; the same creed, the same worship, the same pledges of redemption. They all meet in prayer and in charity round the tomb of St. Peter: to his vicar, as to the head of the world under Christ, they all alike look up with a veneration and a trust, of which men in a hacknied age can form no idea. Through the organization of the Roman Catholic religion, now common to them all, the nations of the West have become as one man. They have everywhere laid down their errors, their peculiar, hereditary superstitions, and surrendered unconditionally to Christ. The Church has become the world, for the young nations. Their forms of government, their laws, their arts, their learning, their enterprises, the titles

by which are held, all that individuals and nations most highly prize, the crimes by which they are forfeited, their very wars themselves give proof that Christianity, for the nations at that period, was all in all. Even when blinded and infuriated by their passions, they trampled on its most sacred institutions, they never for an instant ceased to believe in its divinity. Men more like ferocious monsters than human beings, and insensible to any earthly fear, are seen to quail before the menace of being cut off from the mystic body of Jesus Christ. In the wildest paroxysms of their bloodthirsty mania for war, for spoil: in their cruelty, and even in their lust—so far as a vital unhesitating faith, an all-pervading instinct in the divinity and paramount importance of its aids is concernedit is still true of these generations that, they lived and moved and had their being, in Christianity.

Examine the sample of that age, which we find in the individual, who in A.D. 1002, was elected by the Northern Italians to be their king. This was Hardwin, or Ardoino, marquis of Ivrea, and if ever there was a wild beast in human form, it was in his. "Peter, the bishop of Vercelli, he murdered, and his mangled corpse he roasted on the fire." This, according to the language of a public charter, Ardoino did, A.D. 999.* The same historian tells us, that soon after his election, his brutality towards all

* Murat. Ann. an. 999. p. 345.

became so outrageous, that repenting of their choice, the Lombard princes implored of St. Henry, king of Germany, to hasten and deliver them from his fangs,* For a slight contradiction, he seized the venerable bishop of Brescia by the hair of the head, and hurled him to the earth. It was only by flight the bishop of Asti, whom he assailed in his see and expelled from it, escaped from his blood-thirsty fury. In a word EPISCOPICIDA, or the bishop-killer, was the name that King Ardoino went by: yet would he suspend a campaign to celebrate a festival;† and his closing years were passed in penitence, in prayer, and in mortification of those passions, by the indulgence of which, in the day of pride and power, he had appeared more like a monster than a man. On the altar in the monastery of Fructuaria, he placed his crown and the other insignia of a king; cut off his own hair and exchanged his mantle of royalty for the rough and lowly habit of a monk. In his latter days, he laboured to imitate the royal penitent of old. He knows nothing of Christianity, and but little of human nature, who imagines that Ardoino was not in earnest in aspiring to imitate David in his repentance, as he had surpassed him in his crimes. It was the general conviction of his contemporaries, that this monstrous criminal had died a happy death.‡

* Ib. an. 1002. p. 20. † Ub. supr. an. 1002. p. 21.

‡ Murat. an. 1314. p. 73, 74. Rohrbacher, t. xiii. p. 483.

St. Romoald, when in the bloom of youth, was fiercely menaced with being disinherited by his father, who was one of the most potent nobles of Ravenna, because, from a horror of shedding the blood of a kinsman, he was rather lukewarm in a feud that raged between his father Sergius, and his near relative, regarding a meadow that was in dispute between them. Sergius returned from the next affray that took place between the family factions, with the remorse of a fratricide: at a blow he had felled his own kinsman to the earth, from which he never rose. As in the former instance, this atrocious culprit lived and died amidst austerities, in the most rigid monastic order of the time.

Or take an instance of a different kind of the mastery that religion never entirely lost hold of, over the most desperate sinners of that age. Amongst these was Raynerius, or Rinieri, marquis of Tuscany. He was another Herod. This same marquis, the most powerful prince in Italy, was accustomed to say that he felt more overawed in the presence of St. Romoald, than in that of the emperor, or of any other mortal: "When his eyes are on me," he used to remark, "I know not what to say in defence of my faults, or where to find excuses." For truly, adds St. Peter Damian, this great servant of God possessed that grace from on high, that the terror of the Divine Majesty came over the wicked, and especially the mighty ones of this world in his presence; so that their bones shook with fear; thus

recognizing the influence of that Holy Spirit, before whom the guilty tremble.*

For profligacy as well as for deeds of sacrilege, blood, and the most atrocious cruelty, it is probable that King Hugo, the patron of Liutprand, was not surpassed by any delinquent of his age. Much of evil we had to tell of him: the following anecdote will shew that he was not without redeeming virtues, and will help to bring out in clearer relief that anomalous juxta-position of wickedness and piety —so to speak—which we are convinced was the most striking characteristic, not only of society generally, but of individual character in the tenth century. The story relates to the adventures of a spy sent by Berenger II., the rival of Hugo, in order to reconnoitre the country, and sound the Italian princes as to his prospects.

In pilgrim's weeds, says Liutprand, who tells the story, and as one of a company of needy palmers on their way to Rome, Amedius contrived to get unhindered through the Alpine passes into Italy. He then succeeded in insinuating himself, not only into the castles of the various princes and chiefs of the Lombards, but also into their secret plans and wishes.

* "Habebat revera vir Sanctus hanc ex divino munere gratiam, ut quicunque peccatores, præsertim potentes sæculi, in ejus præsentiam devenissent, mox velut ante magestatem, Dei tremefactis visceribus formidarent. Sanctus nimirum Spiritus qui pectori ejus habitator inerat, hunc terrorem injustis divinitus intendebat." —c. xiv. 67.

So adroitly did he shift from one fashion of disguise to another, and such was his cleverness in this art, that he hardly ever appeared like the same person, or like a man even of the same race or complexion, in any two different places. Nay, the more active pursuit of him which was set on foot by King Hugo, on learning that he was in Italy and busied in such intrigues, had no other result but to bring Amedius into the very palace itself. While there, so complete was his metamorphose, that, seated with the poor whom Hugo maintained, and whom he used to wait on himself at their meals, he received a garment in charity from the king's own hand. By goat-paths and out of the way places, Amedius afterwards got back over the Alps, not liking to trust himself by the ordinary passes, so strict was the scrutiny to which all were subjected, in consequence of orders to the guards to spare no pains to prevent his escaping.

The point of the anecdote to our purpose, is that those hands, so stained with guilt, are here found busied in the offices to which the Redeemer has declared he will award the enjoyment of heaven, on the judgment day. Here we have in an attitude that would do honour to St. Louis himself, or the good King Edward, that same Hugo, who could cope as a sinner with many of the worst who have worn a crown.

Let us next reverse the picture, or rather consider it from an opposite point of view. The construction

which we hazard may be rash, but it strikes us, from an examination of the entire history from which the following anecdote is taken, that so much of the barbarian leaven of ferocity, and, if we may so express ourselves, of battle-instincts still remained even in those of the tenth century who had taken refuge in the cloister and the cell from the rampant wickedness of the age, that the robber would probably have taken some harm at the hands of his captors, if St. Romoald had not managed the affair, as we now leave it to his contemporary biographer to tell.

"On a certain festival, as St. Romoald was in chapter with his monks, entertaining them on pious subjects, he suddenly interrupted his discourse, and cried out in a tone of great anxiety—'Haste, haste ye quickly, a thief is breaking into the cell of brother Gregory!' This same Gregory was afterwards an archbishop among the Gentiles to whom he preached the Gospel. They ran to the cell, and there found the robber, and seizing him brought him into the presence of the saint, inquiring what they were to do with him. 'And I too, brethren,' said St. Romoald, in a cheerful tone, 'am ignorant what we can do with one so wicked. Shall we, as is the custom, have his eyes put out? If we do, he will be blind, and even require some one to lead him: or shall we cut off his hand?—another usual punishment—then will he be incapable of supporting himself by labour, and will die of hunger.

He will be unable to take himself away from Val-de-Castro, if we cut his foot off; wherefore bring him in and set food before him, that he may eat, while we consider what is best to do with him.' And thus exulting in the Lord (ever merciful), the holy man spoke in words of mild rebuke to the robber, after he had caused him to be fed, and dismissed him in peace, with sweet words of exhortation to lead a better life."*

The abbot of Farfa, in that discourse already alluded to, which he held in the chapter-hall to his monks, reminds them how, when Giovanni, one of the sons of Theoderanda, was hard pressed by the Papal forces in Palestrina, his brother Cencio came on Saint Peter's day to get the monks of Farfa to say prayers and masses; for he said it had been told them by a servant of God that in such, offered up at the shrine of our Blessed Lady in Farfa, was their only hope.† "And then," continues the holy abbot—for Hugo was a truly devout and zealous Christian—"then you shewed your charity towards these persecutors of ours, in their distress. For

* C. xii. 62. "Et ita vir sanctus exultans in Domino, postquam cibari latronem fecit, deinde modeste correptum et dulcibus verbis admonitum, redire ad propria in pace permisit."

† "Tunc in solemnitate Sancti Petri ad vos venit supra scriptus, et dixit revelatum fuisse cuidam Servo Dei, quod suus frater Johannes non evaderet, nisi per orationem monachorum Sanctæ Mariæ: deinde vos caritatem fecistis in illis, et triduo jejunastis; unde prædictus Papa contra vos iratus est."—*Chron. Farf.*

three whole days you prayed for them in fasting; and thus brought down on yourselves the anger of the Pontiff," (for *sympathizing* with the outlaws).

The celebrated Pietro Orseolo, who was elected Doge of Venice, in A.D. 977, when at the zenith of his glory and still in the bloom of manhood, determined to abdicate the splendour and power with which he was surrounded. Accompanied by his son Pietro, by Giovanni Gradenigo, Giovanni Moresius, Romoaldo, afterwards so renowned as the reformer of central Italy, and by Marino an anchorite —all men of noble family like himself, the Doge abandoned his palace by night, and retiring to the monastery of St. Michel de Casan in Gascony, he there lived in such penance, and distinguished for such perfection of sanctity for eighteen years, that we find his name in the calendar of the Saints. Yet it was he who headed the Venetians when they rose against the tyranny of his predecessor Pietro Candiano IV., and setting fire to the ducal palace, destroyed not only that noble edifice, but also the churches of San Marco, San Teodoro, and Santa Maria Zobenico. Pietro Orseolo is said to have slain the Doge with his own hand. The example of San Pietro in his repentance was followed by his successor, the Doge Vitale Candiano, in A.D. 979.

The founder of the haughty race of the Plantagenets, Foulk Nerra, was stained with the blackest crimes—bloodshedding in all its forms, and devasta-

tion and plundering of churches. Weighed down with anathemas, "pour les biens de l'eglise qu'il enlevait chaque jour," and for his other enormities, he makes pilgrimages to Rome, and even goes no less than three times to Jerusalem. He was twice married. His first spouse with his consent became a nun, the second he burned for the crime of adultery. If he plundered churches, he also founded a crowd of monasteries, those of Beaulieu, and St. Nicholas d'Angers, among the rest. He also erected a great number of strong castles—as Montrichard, Montbazon, Mirebeau. His black fortress called TOUR DU DIABLE is still to be seen at Angers.*

"There were giants in those days." Indifferentism, hypocrisy, infidelity, moderation, were things unknown. The entire, turbulent, conflicting mass of humanity in the west, was animated with the root and principle of religion and of greatness, FAITH. To surmise that the men—if you will the monsters—of those times were not as thoroughly in earnest, as full of vehement sincerity, in their repentance as in their crimes, in their good as in their evil deeds, is an absurdity of which none can be guilty, but those who, like Gibbon or Voltaire, are sceptical as to the workings of faith in others, because utterly insensible to its divine instincts themselves. To say that they were actuated not by faith but by superstition,

* "Toute sa vie," says Michelet, "fut une alternative de victoires signalées, de crimes et de pélerinages."—*Ubi supra*, t. 2. p. 155.

is simply to confound falsehood with truth. Christianity was venerated as divine, was prized by all as the " one thing necessary " in their wildest and most unbridled orgies; and to figure to ourselves, as has been customary, the historical personages of those times, as actuated by motives akin to those with which alone the writers of the irreligious school were conversant, is to fall into a solecism not a whit less grotesque than that of the painter who showeth on his canvass a Cherokee Indian in a court dress, or represents the Greeks as bombarding the city of Priam. In those times there were monsters of wickedness, men abandoned to the most demoniac passions, but infidels or indifferentists there were none. Otho III. makes a voyage to the islet in the Adriatic to which St. Romoald had retired, to hold more undisturbed communion through prayer and contemplation with his Creator, in order to prevail on him to come and place himself at the head—not of the home department, or of foreign affairs, or of public instruction—but of a community of monks. The emperor of the Romans, the king of the mighty Teutonic nations and of Lombardy, is seated like one of his disciples at the feet of the anchoret. The head that the imperial and two kingly crowns adorn, is at night reposed on the hard pillow of the hermit's bed. By another emperor, Henry II., ambassadors are sent to seek the same holy man in his retreat among the rugged scenery round Val Ombroso; and with difficulty he is prevailed on to ap-

pear in the camp, it is through an avenue formed by the chivalry of the Germanic nations, princes and margraves, and counts, of almost kingly state and sway, that the humble ascetic passes to the tent of the emperor, while those who have succeeded in kissing the hem of his garment as he passes, or in securing some shred of it, as a relic to carry beyond the Alps, are objects of envy to the rest. If the very reverse of all this would have happened, had that camp been filled with the soldiers and princes of modern times, what are we to conclude from the fact but this, that beings more unlike what the actors on the scene of history really were, (as to their convictions, motives, and policy, in those ages) cannot be imagined, than are those creations by which unbelieving writers supplant them in histories, derived from a jaundiced fancy, and not from thorough and unbiassed researches? Even amongst those who seemed most to despise religion, and who with ferocious violence attacked it in its most vital and hallowed institutions, there is no symptom that the divine germ was dead in their breasts as in those of the scoffers and indifferentists of the modern world. The accomplices of the wicked, the worthless, and godless king John, we meet with as penitents at the great shrines of the age, from Compostella to Jerusalem; and John himself founded three monasteries, besides many other benefactions for his soul's health. The furious opponent of Hildebrand, who set at defiance all that is most sacred

in the laws of Christianity, of the Church, and of nature itself—Henry IV. is found devoutly visiting the churches while blockading the Pope.

Here, then, we have the world such as it really was, in the darkest of the dark ages—inspired by faith, yet the sport of its passions. Here are the elements, from which Christian civilized Europe has been formed, confounded together and conflicting in a state of the most perfect chaos. Even in the absurd supposition that any such engines of social progress or amelioration as acts of parliament, a public press, the diffusion of the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, in the vulgar tongue, could have been then originated or worked, what could have been hoped from their operation? But when Hildebrand and the Popes inoculated with his spirit, put their hands to that only lever by which the West could be lifted from this apparently irremediable state of social disorganization and ruin, it becomes manifest that that lever, FAITH, is able not only to "move mountains," but to lift the world of the West from the chaos in which it was sunk, and to propel it forward in that orbit which, beginning in the Crusades, has ever since continued to be developed in a progression of wonders.

But before we proceed to examine how they succeeded in thus exalting the nations, we have first to consider how this omnipotent lever of the faith continued still to be in the hands of the Popes. For that it should be so, after so many disasters

and scandals, has very naturally appeared a thing inexplicable to those, who either did not take pains to search into the true sources of the history of those times, or who knew not, or scorned to make use of, the only key to their correct interpretation.

CHAPTER VI.

No idea can be more at variance with the most indisputable facts of history than that the Papacy, during this disastrous epoch, was altogether stripped of its former influence: much less is it correct to say it "was surrendered to the scorn and hatred of mankind."* Rome had never for a moment ceased to be the great centre of communion for the Christian world, the oracle of the nations who continued to gather round the tomb of St. Peter from every region of the West, or the theatre on which the grandest events continued to be enacted, by the foremost characters of each successive generation.

During that period, the Papacy beheld no less than seven dynasties of emperors arise and disappear. Two of them were of Italy, those attempted to be founded by the Lombard dukes of Spoleti and Friuli, and five from beyond the Alps. Amongst the latter was the proud dynasty of the Saxon Othos. By each and all of them, was recognized the right of the Roman Pontiffs to select the candidates for a dignity, paramount to every other in

* This is asserted in the brilliant article on "Hildebrand" in the Edinburgh Review, April, 1845, p. 274.

the world, save their own, and to confer the title and insignia of empire. As was done by Charlemagne, each of those emperors bound himself by oath to become the devoted champion of the Apostolic See, in all its rights, and against every invasion. From the hands of the Popes every one of the eleven emperors, during the period in question, received their consecration. The form of oath has been preserved by which Otho the Great binds himself to John XII. It is the generally received opinion that the oath, which runs as follows, was administered by the legates, while the German monarch was as yet beyond the Alps.

"I, Otho, king, do promise to thee, my Lord Pope John, and do swear by the Father Son and Holy Ghost, and by the wood of this life-giving Cross, and by these relics of the Saints, that if, with the Divine permission, I arrive at Rome, I will to the utmost of my power, exalt the holy Roman Church and thee its ruler; that never with my will, counsel, or consent, or by my exhortation shall you suffer injury in life or limb, or in that honour which you now enjoy; and that in the city of Rome, I will not without your counsel attempt anything by placitum or ordonnance regarding thee or the Romans: and that to thee I shall surrender such parts of the territory of St. Peter as may come into my hands. And my viceroy over the kingdom of Italy, I will oblige to bind himself to be ever

ready to assist thee to the utmost, in defending the territory of St. Peter."*

We find this second Charlemagne at Rome, on no less than six different occasions. His son, Otho II. was crowned emperor there, by John XIII. in A.D. 968, Otho the Great himself being present. It was also in St. Peter's the marriage of the youthful emperor with Theophania, daughter of the Greek emperor, took place, and seldom had even that temple beheld a grander pageant. The nuptials were blessed by Pope Benedict VI., and were graced by the presence of the Great Otho and a splendid court, "arridentibus cunctis Italiæ Germaniæque primatibus." Another and a still more impressive scene, in which all these pageants were to end, was also in St. Peter's. After making humble confession of his sins, and in sentiments of Christian resignation, being aided by the

* "Tibi domino Joanni Papæ, ego Rex Otto promittere et jurare facio, per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, et per lignum hoc vivificæ crucis, et per has reliquias sanctorum, quod si permittente Deo, Romam venero: Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam, et te rectorem ipsius, exaltabo secundum posse meum: et nunquam vitam aut membra, et ipsum honorem quem habes, mea voluntate, aut meo consilio, aut meo consensu, aut mea exhortatione, perdes. Et in Romana urbe nullum placitum aut ordinationem faciam de omnibus, quæ ad te, aut ad Romanos pertinent, sine tuo consilio (aliter concilio). Et quidquid in nostram potestatem de terra S. Petri pervenerit, tibi reddam. Et cuicumque regnum Italicum commisero jurare faciam illum, ut adjutor tui sit ad defendendam terram Sancti Petri, secundum suum posse."—*Vid. Baron.* an. 960, n. 5.

Apostolic Father himself, John XIV. and by all the cardinals and bishops during his agony, Otho breathed his last, in 983. His son Otho III. was crowned by Gregory V. with extraordinary pomp in St. Peter's, A.D. 996. He visited Rome several times, and it was chiefly in the surrounding parts, he passed the three last years of his life. Thus, in A.D. 998, we find him in the monastery of St. Benedict at Subiaco. From thence he returns to Rome. Again after a short visit to Germany we find him at Rome, A.D. 1000. Again he returned to Rome, A.D. 1001, when preparing to go to Mount Gargano on a pilgrimage. He returns thence to Rome. Sylvester II., who for some time had care of his education, he held in such respect, and was so attached to by ardent friendship, that he could not be happy but in the Pontiff's society. They are together this year, 1001, at Tivoli, at Todi, where they hold a placitum or high court of claims; also at Paternum, at St. Mary's of Farfa, and at other towns and monasteries thereabouts. The Paterno alluded to is thought to have been between Todi and Perugia. Otho died at Paterno A.D. 1002, and with him expired the dynasty of the Saxon emperors, Henry, duke of Bavaria, who was elected king, by the Germans on the death of Otho III., was invited to Rome A.D. 1014, by Benedict VIII., to receive the imperial crown. He had already obtained the iron crown of Lombardy, and worn it for eleven years.

Seldom had a spectacle of greater magnificence,

or one more impressive been beheld, even at Rome. The king, who has been enrolled in the Catalogue of the Saints, was accompanied by Cunegunda, his queen, on whom the same honour has been conferred by the Church. We are told by Ditmar, in his Chronicle, that they entered Rome on the morning of Sunday, 14th February, A.D. 1014, the king being surrounded in the procession as it advanced towards the gates by the Senators, twelve in number: six of them had their beards shorn, the other six wore them long, and each of the venerable seigniors carried a staff; all this was supposed to have had some mystic meaning,* for already it is the age of symbolism, in all other things, as in the arts.† The Pope received the royal personages according to ancient custom, in front of St. Peter's; but before the portals were thrown open he demanded of the king, if he was willing to become the Advocatus et defensor—the champion of the Roman Church, faithful to the Pope and to his successors? With great devotion the king replied in the affirmative: they then entered the temple of the Apostle when the coronation of the King and Queen Cunegunda took place. On this occasion a pomme d'or, surmounted with a cross and adorned with a circlet of sparkling jewels, was presented by Pope Benedict to the newly

* "A Senatoribus duodecim vallatur quorum sex rasi barba alii prolixa mystice incedebant cum baculis," &c.

† Ditmar. Chron. l. 6.

crowned emperor. The pomme d'or was typical of the world, the cross of religion, which the emperor was to protect; the jewels were to remind him of the virtues and noble achievements with which his life should be resplendent. Great was St. Henry's delight on receiving it. "Holy Father," he said, "you wish to intimate to me, by this symbol, how it is I ought to reign." Glaber, the monk of Clugni, by whom this circumstance is mentioned, says that a decree was made on this occasion in a grand diet or placitum, over which the Pope and the Emperor presided, that the imperial title should not be assumed by any prince or potentate, but by such as the Pope should select for that dignity * The ancient diplomas relative to the Papal States were on this occasion re-affirmed by St. Henry, very nearly in the words of that one which was given by Otho the Great at his coronation, in A.D. 962, and the autograph of which is preserved to the present day. It ran as follows:—

"In the name of the Lord God Omnipotent, Father Son and Holy Ghost, I, Otho, by the grace of God, Emperor Augustus, with Otho the glorious king, our son, Divine Providence so ordaining, do promise and vow, by this our deed of confirmation, to thee blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and key-bearer of the kingdom of Heaven, and through thee to thy vicar, John XII., Supreme Pontiff, and Universal Pope, the city of Rome with its

* L. 1, c. 5.

duchy to be held in sovereignty and subjection—*in potestate atque ditione*—as by the preceding Pontiffs, together with its suburban districts and territories, as also its sea ports, cities, castles, towns and villages within the Tuscan borders—to wit, Portus, Centumcellæ, Cere, Bleda, Maturianum, Sutrium, Nepi, Castellum Gallisem, Orta, Polimartium, Ameria, Tuda, (Todi) Perusia, with its three islands viz., Majore, Minore, Pulvensio: Narnia and Utriculum, with all the boundaries and territories appertaining to the above-mentioned cities."

In the diploma of St. Henry it is *Castellum Gallicense*; and to the three islands of Perugia the lake is added—*majorem, minorem, pulvensim et lacu.*

"Also the Exarchate of Ravenna, in its integrity, with its capitals, cities, towns, castles, which long ago were bestowed by pledge of donation on St. Peter the Apostle and your predecessors, by our predecessors of pious memory, Domnus Pipinus et Domnus Karolus, the most excellent emperor; that is to say, the city of Ravenna and Ameliæ, Bolium, Cesena, Forumpopuli, (aliter Forum Pompilii) Forum Livii, Faventio, Tinola, Bononia, Ferraria, Comiaculum, and Hadrianis, and Gabellum, with all their confines, territories, and islands, by land and sea; as also the Pentapolis, viz., Ariminum, Pisaurum, Fanum, Senogallium, Anconam, Ausimum, Humanam, Hesim, (Jesi) Forum Sempronii, Montem Feltri, Urbinum, and the territory of Balnense, Calles, (Cagli), Luciolis, and Eugubium, with all

the boundaries and territories to the same cities belonging.

"In the same manner, the Sabine territory, as it was granted by the lord emperor Charlemagne in its integrity to St. Peter the Apostle by deed of donation. Item, in the confines of Lombard Tuscany, Castellum Felicitatis, Urbem Veterem, Balneum Regis, Ferentum, Viterbium, Ortem, Martam, Tuscanam, (Torcanella) Suanam, Populonium, Rosellas, together with their districts, territories, villages, throughout all their confines.

"Item, in the regions of Campania, Sora, Arces, Aquinum, Arpinum, Theanum, and Capua; likewise the patrimonies belonging to your dominion, to wit, the patrimony of Beneventum, the patrimony of Neapolis, and the patrimony of Calabria, upper and lower. Also the patrimony of Sicily, if the Lord shall deliver it into our hands.

"Moreover, we offer to thee, blessed Peter Apostle, and to thy vicar, and his successors, for remedy of our soul, the following cities and towns, with their pastures, to wit, Reate, Amiternum, Furconem, Nursiam, Balram, and Marsim, also the city of Interamnia, with its territories." These offerings he makes also for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the "whole race of the Franks who have been and ever shall be in the care of God." Some additions are made to these grants, of places in Germany by the diploma of St. Henry. In both it is the tributes only, formerly paid to the Lombard kings, that are

granted from the duchies of Spoleti and Tuscany. *Salvâ super eosdem Ducatus nostrâ in omnibus dominatione.**

We cannot fail to be struck by this new and surprising manifestation of the mysterious energy with which the Papacy is seen to retrieve its losses, and to repossess itself of its rights and prerogatives, in all their plenitude after disasters the most protracted, and in all human appearance the most irremediable. After so many outrages and usurpations, and at a time when only the shadow of power belonged to the greatest monarchies of Europe, we find the patrimony of St. Peter still preserved in its integrity; nor are we to suppose that this was a sway existing merely on parchment, or in virtue of these imperial diplomas. "King Henry," says Ditmar, "was received at Rome with unspeakable magnificence by Pope Benedict, who at that time wielded a dominion such as none of his predecessors had enjoyed."† The Pontiff is firmly seated on his throne before St. Henry crossed the frontiers of the States, and we see him exacting the distinct declaration from the king, before allowing him to enter St.

* No such reservation would have been made had the suzerainté of the Emperors extended generally to the Papal States, as their minions and flatterers, the jurists, in the mediæval times were so anxious to shew.

† Rex Henricus a papa Benedicto, *qui tunc præ ceteris anticessoribus suis maxime dominabatur*, mense Februarii in Urbe Romulia, cum ineffabili honore suscipitur.—L. 6, in fine.

Peter's, that he will exercise his new dignity not to the detriment but for the advantage of the Apostolic see. The sway of Benedict VIII. was not less energetic on the frontier than in the capital. On the Garigliano, (which would seem to have remained the boundary of the States to the south-west from the decisive victory over the Saracens gained by John X.,) and on the Tronto, we meet with his garrisons, (some of them formed of Norman pilgrims,) on the alert, to repel either Greek or infidel, from the patrimony of St. Peter.* It was to the energy of Benedict VIII. all Italy stood indebted that it was not once more overrun, and perhaps completely subjugated, by those foreign enemies—an event which must have proved fatal to its permanent advancement in civilization and happiness.

In A.D. 1016, the Saracens made a descent on the shores of Upper Tuscany. They took the city of Luni, and were there guilty of their accustomed atrocities, particularly against whatever was consecrated to the service of Christ.† No sooner had these afflicting tidings reached the Pontiff's ears, we are told by Ditmar, but assembling all the bishops and defenders of the Churches, he prepared to dislodge the infidels—sending at the same time a great many galleys along the coast secretly, to prevent their escaping by sea. The victory, which was

* Vid. Murat. an. 1021, p. 99, and 100.

† "Scorrendo poi tutto il vicinato e vergognando le donne, &c."—*Murat. an.* 1016, p. 81.

dearly purchased however, was decisive, and the booty immense. The king of the Saracens surrounded by a few followers, with difficulty escaped the slaughter; but no sooner had he arrived in Sardinia, and there recruited his forces, than breathing nothing but vengeance, he sent his ambassadors to Pope Benedict with a sack full of chesnuts, to tell him that, in the following summer he would pay a visit to Rome with as many soldiers as there were chesnuts in that sack. In return, the Pope sent a sack of rice to King Mugetto, with this notice, that if, not content with the mischief he had already inflicted on the patrimony of St. Peter, he came a second time to molest it, he should find for every grain of rice in that sack, a Christian warrior ready to receive him.* Pope Benedict did not rest satisfied with this bandying of threats. His legates were already in Pisa, and most probably in Genoa, for rousing those two cities to follow up the advantages already gained over the infidels. With such success were these exertions crowned, that the Saracens were not merely defeated: they were expelled from Sardinia; and the possession of that island, (of which the Pisans received the investiture from the Pope*), with the freeing the seas from the Saracens, were the means of raising Pisa from a state of insignificance and obscurity to an extraordinary pitch of glory, opulence, and power.† The fortunes

* L. 7, p. 411.

† Benedetto Papa intanto, che l'avea comminciato bene, volle

of the Genoese were little less advanced by the enormous treasures of the Saracen King Mugetto, which were the reward of the assistance rendered by them in achieving this most important conquest.

But, while Benedict VIII. was thus successful in repelling the attempts of the Greeks from the south, through the emperor St. Henry (with whom we find him visiting Monte Casino after his victories over the invaders), and in not only defeating the Saracens, but in wresting from them the dominion of the seas, to transfer it to two cities destined to take such a glorious share in the struggle for the Cross against the Crescent, there was at the very gates of Rome a subject of his own, whom he could neither subdue by arms nor reclaim by lenity.

"By a fraudulent and nocturnal attack," says Abbot Hugo of Farfa, "the castle called Rocchinianum, seated on Monte Acutiano close to this monastery of our Lady, to which it belongs, was surprised and taken by Crescentius.* When the officers of the Pontiff came to demand the restitution of the place, or that Crescentius should consent to hold it as a tenant of Farfa, proud as he was," says the

finirla meglio. Spedi per suo legato a Pisa il vescovo d'Ostia, per animare quel popolo a cacciar fuori di Sardegna Mugetto. Lo stesso probabilmente fece a Genova. Soggiungono gli annali di Pisa, che il Papa investì di essa Sardegna i Pisani.—*Murat. an.* 1017, et an. 1012.

* This is the son of Theoderanda and Count Benedict, already known to the reader.

Chronicle, "he rejected every such proposal. But when Benedict determined not to allow the property consecrated to the use of religion, to be thus audaciously usurped with impunity within sight of the walls of his capital, began to distress him with a numerous host, which surrounded and beleaguered the castle on every side, Crescentius sued for mercy and gave all sorts of promises that, after a term of twenty days which were allowed him, he would come into the presence of his Holiness, and there either make good his claim, or without more ado surrender the Rocchinianum to the abbot.

"Wherefore," continues the chronicler, "at the expiration of the twenty days, the Lord Pope, surrounded by his venerable hierarchs, his priests, and the judges both of the Roman and Lombard code, came out once more to Farfa. In front of the castle which goes by the name of Tribucum in Monte, there grows a spreading pine, and under its shade it was, the faldistorium was placed by the attendants, and the other preparations made for the Pope to hold his court. His Holiness alighting was conducted to the throne thus prepared under the pine tree's shade, the various dignitaries were arrayed each according to rank and office, and so the placitum was formed.

"There was, as I remember, assembled on that occasion round his Holiness, the following abbots, judges, counts, and other nobles: John, also called Melio the Secundicerius, Crescentius the Adnomenclator, Gregory Primicerius of the Guards called

Defensores; Gregory the Arcarius, Petrus Johannis Benedictæ, Gregorius, Farulfus et Leo, qui et Laurentius Dativorum. Of the judges of the Lombard code, there were Adam, and another Adam, and Heribertus, and Roccio Clericus,—all these were of the duchy of Spoleti. There were also Crescentius of the Sabines—Crescentius Sabinorum. Of venerable abbots, there were present John, abbot of the monastery of St. Paul's; John, abbot of the monastery *ad Clivum Scauri*; John, abbot of the monastery of St. Dionysius and St. Sylvester; Adelmo, abbot of the monastery of St. Boniface; and Peter, abbot of St. Mary's, *in titulo Eudoxia.* The counts present were Berardus, Todinus junior, Count Oddo, with John and Crescentius, his cousins, Count Octavianus, his son, Crescentius and Gumbize his kinsmen: Theophilactus of Prænestæ, Stephanus: Priozo à Sancto Eustachio, Ricardo, Tito, Franco de Britone, Berardus, Guido à Proba, Ingizo, Teudbaldus, Constantius de Arcario from Trastevere, with a great many others—*ceterique plurimi.*"

In the presence of the august court thus constituted—the Pontiff presiding in his faldistorium under the shade of the spreading pine, the hill side scattered with groups of the equerries and other attendants, and with crowds from the surrounding mountain towns and castles, who had come to the placitum, and to receive the Papal blessing—the venerable abbot who was the first to arrive in pro-

cession with his community, came before the Pontiff, and by his advocate Alkeirus, began to make lamentation as prescribed by the Lombard law, under which the monastery of Farfa was placed, and to loudly call for judgment against the usurper of the abbey property. Crescentius being summoned to the placitum, through the Lord Abbot of Saints Dionysius and Silvester and Azzo Bernino, refused to appear. A second time, by advice of the judges, Roman and Lombard, the Pope ordered him to be summoned with the formalities prescribed by the laws. Accordingly Count Oddo, Crescentius, cousin of Gumbizo, Francon, who is called Britto, also Stephanus Ingibaldi, and Peter de Imperato, coming before the castle, again and again, called Cencio to the placitum; but Cencio turned a deaf ear to their summons.

The judges being then called on by the Pope to declare what was the next step the law prescribed, they invited the abbot to make good his title. The cartularies, in virtue of which the abbot made claim to the castle in dispute, were then laid before them, and after they had been read aloud by Gregory the Arcarius, the court decided that they clearly established the right to the aforesaid castle of Rocchiniano to be in the abbot of Farfa, and in no one else. Judgment was then registered against Cencio, who being thrice summoned, had contumaciously refused to appear; and the Pope taking a wand in

his hand, gave investiture of the castle to the abbot who knelt before him, and decreed a fine of one hundred pounds of gold; (fifty to the sacred palace, of the Lateran, and fifty to St. Mary's of Farfa), against Cencio or any of his people, who should presume for the future to molest him in the said castle, or to deprive him of its possession. "Whereupon," concludes the scribe, "for future memory, and for future testimony, and in cautela, and for the securing its perpetual stability, this deed of investiture, by precept of the Pontiff and of all the judges Lombard and Roman, was by me Benedict, Scriniarius of the holy Roman Church, committed to writing in the third year of our Lord Benedict VIII. supreme Pontiff and universal Pope, now happily reigning in the see of the blessed Apostle, in the first year of our Lord the most pious emperor, Henry Augustus, crowned of God, 2nd of August, 12th indiction."

The deed is signed by the Pontiff—and by the following dignitaries of various orders. John, abbot of St. Silvester's; John, abbot of St. Gregory's *ad Clivum Scauri;* Benedict, "by the grace of God Secundicerius of the holy Apostolic See;" Crescentius, "by the grace of God, Nomenclator of the holy Apostolic See;" Gregory, "by the grace of the Lord, Primicerius Defensorum;" Gregory, "by the providence of God, Arcarius of the holy Apostolic See;" Petrus, by God's will a judge;" Marinus,

"a nobleman, and cousin of the Lord Præfect" (of Rome.) Tedaldus Zore, "a nobleman;" John, "by God's will a judge;" Gregory, "by the grace of the Lord, Dativus judex;" Farolfus, "by the grace of God, Dativus judex;" Franco de Britto, Leo Fragepane, Benedict Boccapecu, Sergius de Transtiberim, Herperinus Herperini, Stephanus Ingebaldi, Beraldus, and son, "first defensor di Cavallo Marmoreo." Then the scribe concludes. "Ego Benedictus Scriniarius," &c.*

There are several instances of placets similar to this held in Rome during this epoch, sometimes at the Vatican, sometimes at the Lateran palace. The abbot of Farfa is met with amongst the plaintiffs on more than one occasion, not only seeking protection against the Cenci, but also to make good his claim to various possessions of St. Mary's of Farfa, even within the walls of Rome itself. Amongst these, the church and its appurtenances of Santa Maria *in Minione*, beyond the Tiber, and a church among the ruins of the Thermæ Alexandrinæ, as also the crypts and other ruins of the said Thermæ, make the principal figure.

Pope Benedict VIII. made a visit to the Emperor St. Henry beyond the Alps, and was received with the greatest honours. The emperor amongst the other tokens of his veneration and love towards the Pontiff, made a present to the Roman Church, of the city of Bamberg, with a yearly tribute of a white

* Chron. Farf. ap. Murat. Rer. Ital. Script. t. ii. par. 2.

palfrey and one hundred pounds of silver.* Thus, though drawing rapidly to the close of this epoch, the most calamitous for the Papacy, we find that it is far, indeed, from having fallen from its high estate.

Rome, be it remembered, was for all those shining lights of the 10th century of whom we have already spoken, the centre round which they revolved, the source from which they derived their mission, the shrine to which they turned when they would rekindle the Divine fire of zeal and faith within their breasts. Romeward they turned, when in woe and terror at the wickedness that seemed to defy their preaching and their prayers, there to enter into more fond and confiding communion with their Redeemer, through his saints: to seek light and consolation and help from Him, at the shrines of his most glorious servants. Few, if any, of these illustrious Christians omitted to visit the *Limina Apostolorum*, at least once in their lives: some of them we know to have visited Rome several times. St. Odon of Clugni, for instance, we have seen labouring there as a peacemaker under the auspices of two successive Pontiffs. His successor at Clugni, St. Mayeul, we saw ransomed by the Saracens of Fraxineto, when

* Baron. an. 1019, Edit. Mansi, item Concil. Mansi, t. 19. p. 327. Muratori evidently misinterprets Ditmar, in making Benedict visit Germany, *immediately after his election.*

returning from the tombs of the Apostles. The great St. Swithin accompanied his royal pupil Alfred to Rome. In A.D. 960, St. Dunstan visits Rome, is received like a father, by Pope John XII. who placed on his shoulders the pallium with his own hands; and thus invested him as legate of the Apostolic See.* St. Nilus was at Rome. It is at Rome on the 18th October, 968, that St. Adalbert, the Apostle of the Slaves, receives the pallium from John XIII. with permission to establish bishops' sees at Zeitz, Meissen, Merseburg, Brandenburg, Havelberg, Poznam—all places which had been but recently the chief seats of the heathenism of the Slaves. As for the great St. Udalric the bishop of Augsburg, to whom, next to Otho the Great, the Germans were more indebted than to any other man, for their liberation from the Hungarians, he made no less than three pilgrimages to Rome. On the last occasion, A.D. 972, not being able from the infirmities of age to bear the movement of a carriage, he was carried in a litter from beyond the Alps.

The city of the Pontiffs had been too firmly con-

* "Post hoc, temporis opportunitate accepta, beatissimorum Petri et Pauli Limina petiit, et eum summæ Sedis Pontifex magno sinceræ dilectionis affectu illo venientem accepit, secumque postea familiariter agens, et agendo, templum S. Spiritus esse cognoscens, magnifice illum honoravit, ac stola sui Apostolatus, proquâ venerat, decoravit. Sicque delegatâ ei legatione Apostolicæ Sedis, genti Anglorum pastorem, ac salutis eorum provisorem destinavit." —*Osbert. in Vit. Dunst. ap. Sur. die* 11 *Maii.*

structed to sink under the trials, no matter how varied and terrible, of a single century. Impossible it was that the labours in which we saw the sainted succession of Popes indefatigably employed for so many hundreds of years could have perished in a single age; which, though full of adversity and afflicted with almost incessant revolutions, was nevertheless, not altogether barren of Apostolic virtue and greatness in those who held the place of St. Peter.* Fortunately, however, we are not left trusting to conjectural proofs as to the vitality of those great institutions, the abodes of piety, the asylums of the afflicted and the poor, the nurseries of arts, of letters, and of Apostolic missionaries in which we saw Rome so abounding, during brighter and better times. A monk, who put off the title and state of a grandee when entering the cloister, Arnold of Ratisbon, in visiting Rome during this period, is struck with the air of Christian activity and progress that saluted his eyes to whatever side he turned. He says, he everywhere found them building new churches and other ecclesiastical or charitable institutions, as well outside the walls as within the city, and amongst the ruins of the ancient palaces, theatres, and temples.

He found there no less than sixty monastic institutions, forty of monks, and twenty of nuns, all of which, or nearly all, were Benedictine. There was

* See Baron. an. 1001. n. 21, et n. 22.

at least one monastery of the Greek language. Rome never was without Greek communities; and St. Nilus, four years after this consented to take charge of a Greek monastery there. The collegiate establishments under the canons regular amounted to seventy.* Moreover, we meet with these inmates of the various foreign colleges, Franks, Saxons, Lombards, and the rest, in the processions which go forth during the tenth century, to receive the princes of the various dynasties—the Othos who visited Rome so often in the second half of that age, as did the Ludovics and Berengers in the first. We also have proof that within the cloisters and schools of those communities were formed the soldiers of the cross, who continued in the tenth, as in the preceding ages, to extend the conquests of the Gospel.

This also tallies with what Glaber, a monk of Clugni tells us. "Immediately on the opening of the eleventh age," he says, "it looked as if a new world had arisen, or that the old one had cast off on a sudden, the decay and soil of decrepitude to array itself in the bright and magnificent attire of churches, which everywhere arose as if by miracle. For such was the renovated zeal of the times that the people, particularly in Italy, were everywhere vieing with each other, to see who should do most for the temple of the Most High. Even the exist-

* Mabill. Annal. Bened. ad an. 995. ap. Murat. an. 998. p. 348.

† Rohrbacher, t. xiii. l. 61. p. 194—196. & l. 62. p. 320.

ing edifices which needed it not, but were commodious and beautiful, were nevertheless, replaced by others entirely new; so that in this outburst of faith and devotion, not only were all the cathedrals rebuilt, but also the monasteries. The renovation extended even to the village churches, and the wayside oratories along the great roads.*

It was chiefly by monks from the Roman monasteries that the Hungarians and the various Slave populations were converted: in the memorable year of our Lord, ONE THOUSAND, there came envoys to Rome from Stephen, duke of that nation, of whom Anastasius, formerly a monk of St. Boniface, on the Cœlian, was the chief. The nature of their errand and of the letters of which they were bearers will be best collected from the Pope's answer, which they also carried back to Hungary. After some introductory sentences, expressive of joy at the arrival of Duke Stephen's envoys, and at the happy tidings of which they were the bearers, the then reigning Pontiff, Sylvester II., continues thus:

"Before and above all, we return thanks to God the Father, and to our Lord Jesus Christ, who in our days has found another David, the son of Geisa, a man according to His own heart; and that having illumined his soul with heavenly light, he has raised him up as the Shepherd of his people Israel, the chosen nation of the Hungarians. In the next

* Mabill. Museum Italic. t. ii. p. xx.—Glaber, l. iii. c. 4.

place we laud your piety towards God, and your respect towards the Apostolic chair, in which, though unworthily, we, through the Divine mercy, preside. In fine, we bestow the praises it so richly merits, on the great liberality with which, through the same ambassadors and letters, you have offered to the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, the kingdom and the nation of which you are the chief, together with all that you possess, and even your own person. Action truly grand and wonderful, and which shows that you are already what you wish us to declare you. We need add no more. One who has the testimony of his own actions, and the manifest approval of heaven, it is unnecessary for us to applaud.

"Wherefore, O glorious son, all that you have demanded from us and from the Apostolic See, to wit—a regal crown and the kingly title, the constituting Strigonia the metropolis of Hungary, with the number specified of suffragan dioceses; we, by authority of Almighty God, as also of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, accord and grant unto you in overflowing of the heart, with the benediction of the Apostle and our own. The kingdom which your munificence has offered to St. Peter; your person, the nation of the Hungarians present and to come, we accept of, receiving them under the protection of the holy Roman Church, and give them in our turn to be governed and possessed by your prudence, and by your legitimate successors.

They, when lawfully elected by the magnates, will be bound, either by themselves or by their ambassadors, to render to ourselves and to our successors, a becoming obedience and respect, to shew themselves dutiful to the holy Roman Church, which regards its subjects not as servants but as children; to persevere firmly in the Catholic faith and in the Christian religion, and to labour to promote them."

Sylvester II. adds, that, to recompense the apostolic zeal of the Hungarian king, he grants the privilege to him and to his successors, approved of by the Holy See, of having a processional cross carried before them when wearing the royal crown, which he sends him by the hand of his ambassadors, and, as vicars of the Pope, to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom.*

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* Acta Sanctor, 2 Sept. Vit. S. Steph. Dissert. Prær. n. 185, 186, 187. The crown above alluded to is the same that M. Kossuth is said to have made away with in his flight, Aug. 1849. St. Stephen placed his kingdom under the special protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Hungarians he called the family of St. Mary: to the present day that people have no title for the Mother of God but "Our Lady," and at the mention of her name, they bow the head and bend the knee.

While we write, the following extract from the Vienna Correspondent of the Times of the 18th of September, 1849, shews how strangely the relations of the Papacy are found to intertwine themselves with whatever is most striking in the history of the great European family, from age to age.

It was not the saints alone, or those devoted by vow and profession to the ministry of the Gospel,

"AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY.

"One of the many subjects of speculation at the present moment is the fate of the Hungarian crown—not, by a figure of speech, the Hungarian monarchy, but the actual 'round and top of sovereignty,' the golden diadem itself. It is generally believed that Kossuth has taken it with him in his flight; if so, it has for a second time crossed the frontiers of Turkey. The past history of this crown is a curious one, and as full of vicissitudes as the lives of some of those who have worn it. The Magyars attach a superstitious value to the relic of their ancient monarchy; there is a legend that it was wrought by the hands of angels for St. Stephen, who was crowned with it in 1001; history, with a more limited faith, records that it was sent as a present to Stephen by Pope Sylvester the Second. In 1072 Duke Geisa received from the Greek emperor a golden circlet or royal band for his brow; when he was afterwards make king of Hungary he joined this circlet to the diadem, so that the crown is really composed of two kingly emblems united. When the race of the Arpads became extinct, in 1301, there was a double election to the vacant throne; one party chose Robert of Anjou and Naples, the other Wenzel the younger, of Bohemia. The cause of the latter did not prosper, and his affairs were taking an unfortunate turn, when his father, Wenzel, king of Bohemia, marched an army to Ofen, and carried off his son and the crown with him to Prague. The Hungarians then definitively elected Otto, of Bavaria, and old Wenzel, for reasons not stated, gave up the crown to him. Otto, to take possession of his kingdom, had to ride incognito through Austria, carrying the crown as a 'property' with him. It was packed in a little cask, and hung at the saddlebow of a German Graf, who discovered one morning at daybreak that he had lost his precious charge during the night. The party had then arrived at Fischerment, below Vienna, where

who yielded to this attractive power, by which the see of the Apostle was drawing the world around it.

they were about to cross the Danube; they retraced their steps, and by great good luck found cask and crown again. In 1307 Otto went to Siebenbürgen on a visit to the Waywode Ladislas, intending to win him over to his party; he must have failed signally in his attempt, for the old Waywode seized the crown, and made the king a prisoner. After some time he saw fit to let Otto go, but kept firm possession of the diadem for three years. In 1310, on threats of war, and extermination, he gave it up. For more than a century after this its history is a blank; but in 1439, on the death of the Emperor Albrecht IV. there was again a double election, the two rivals being Wladislaw, of Poland, and Ladislas, the infant son of Albrecht. The Empress resolved to have the child crowned, and for that purpose the diadem was stolen from the castle of Wissegrad by one of her maids of honour, who undertook the task, and succeeded. In 1441 the Empress made a less dignified use of it—she pledged it to the Emperor Frederick IV. for 2,500 gulden. It was redeemed by Mathias Corvinus and taken back to Wissegrad; from hence, after the battle of Mohac, it was again stolen, and again by a woman, in order to crown John Zapolya. Zapolya gave it in charge to Preny, who delivered it up to Ferdinand I.; he was crowned with it in 1527, and then it fell into the hands of the Turks. As Solyman returned from the siege of Vienna, he publicly exhibited the crown to his army in Ofen, but told his soldiers that it was that of the renowned Persian ruler Nushirvan; he then sent it back to his *protegé* Zapolya, on whose death it was again given up by his widow to the Emperor Ferdinand. Rudolph II. sent the crown to Prague; Mathias II. brought it back to Presburg, where in 1619 it was seized by Bethlem Gabor; on the conclusion of the peace of Nikolsburger he gave it up to Ferdinand II. The Emperor Joseph had it brought to Vienna; Leopold sent it again to Hungary, where it remained till the taking of Pesth by Windischgrätz, when it was

From every region of Christendom, despite of the countless toils and dangers of the way, we discover hastening in the same direction, all whom their eminence, either in power or in knowledge, enable us to discern amidst the gloom. Gerbert d'Aurillac —afterwards Sylvester II.—visits Rome in his youth, A.D. 968, and there added to his store of learning — St. Berward of Hilderheim went to Rome. King Robert, the founder, ye may say, of the Capetian dynasty, went thither as a pilgrim a short time before his death. Of the Anglo-Saxon kings, we need not speak. They were renowned for their pilgrimages to his tomb, and for their devotedness to the see, of St. Peter. The acts of the Irish saints, abound in proofs that in this prac-

removed by Kossuth, and has ever since been kept at the seat of the Hungarian Government; that being broken up and dispersed, the crown has resumed its wanderings. As to what has become of it, there are many rumours; it is said to be buried in a secret place. According to others, Kossuth has it in his personal possession, and by this time the diadem that was the gift of a Pope to a saint has been stripped of its jewels to go as bribes to the Mahommedan, and the gold has terminated an almost sacred existence of eight centuries as ignominiously as a mere piece of stolen plate in the melting pot of a Jew!"

The *Times, October* 23, 1849, adds: "The German papers state that the crown of St. Stephen has been sent to London, They assert that M. Szemere, the Hungarian Minister, had M. Kossuth's instructions to take the Hungarian crown and the insignia of the empire to England. This statement explains and contradicts the late rumours which have gone abroad in the Austrian press of M. Szemere having robbed M. Kossuth."

tice of devotion, they were not left behind by the saints of the other Christian countries. Each aspired to make the pilgrimage, once at least in his life.* From the Irish annals, we learn that the same practice prevailed amongst the laity. We meet the royal chieftains of the two opposite extremities of the island—O'Neil and O'Brien—at Rome at the same time: and we are told that they were accompanied by a great number of subordinate chiefs and followers. From Scotland also—a little further on, but still within this period—we meet with another extraordinary personage at Rome. "The King of Scotland, MACBETH, being at Rome," says the ancient annalist, "distributed money in handfuls to the poor."† Much earlier we meet with Canute the Great at Rome. He will speak for himself and for the effects of those visits to the capital of the Catholic world, upon the minds and after conduct of those who made such tours, even in that iron age:

"Canute, king of all Denmark, of England, of Norway, and of part of Sweden, to Egelnoth the Metropolitan, to Archbishop Alfric; to all the bishops and primates; and to all the English nation, nobles and people, who are subject to my dominion. It is long since I bound myself by a vow to make

* Vid. Calgan. Acta Sanct. Hiberniæ, &c. pp. 105, 107, 118, 119, 795, 796, &c. &c.—*Mabill. Act. Ord. Benedict.* l. i. p. 293.

† A. D. 1050. Rex Scotiæ, Machetad, Romæ argentum seminando, pauperibus distribuit, Marian. Scot.—*Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 284.

this pilgrimage; up to this time, however, affairs of state and other obstacles were in the way; but now, at length, I humbly return thanks to the Almighty God who has allowed me, for once in my life, to visit his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and all the holy places both inside and outside the walls of Rome, and in person to pay them honour and reverence. This I have done; because from wise men I have learned, that St. Peter received from the Lord, the great power to bind and loose, and that he is the key-bearer of the celestial kingdom. Behold why I have thought it greatly to my soul's health, to solicit in a special manner his advocacy before the Almighty.

"Know, then, that during the Paschal solemnity, there was held here a grand assemblage of illustrious persons, to wit: with Pope John and the emperor Conrad, all the princes of the nations from Mount Garganus to the sea, which is not far from us.* They all received me with marks of distinction, and honoured me with costly presents. From the emperor particularly, I have received vases of gold and silver, rich fabrics of the loom, and different sorts of robes of great price. I took that opportunity to confer with the emperor, our lord the Pope, and the princes who were there, concerning the things that touched the interests of the people of my realms, as well English as Danes. I

* *i. e.* From one shore of Italy to the other. Monte Gargano is on the Lower Adriatic.

have endeavoured to secure more just treatment for my people, and security in their journeys to Rome; and above all, that they be not for the future, retarded by so many barriers, or harassed by so many iniquitous tolls and exactions. The emperor has yielded to my demand, as also has King Rudolph (of Burgundy), who holds the principal passes of the mountains.* All this has been ratified by the other princes, so that henceforward there will be every security and no extortion at barriers for my men, whether merchants or pilgrims, in going to Rome or in returning.

"To the Lord Pope also I complained, manifesting grave displeasure on account of the enormous sums of money exacted from my archbishops on coming to the Apostolic see, according to ancient custom, to obtain the pallium. It has been decreed that such shall not be the case for the future. In fine, all that I have obtained for the advantage of my people, whether from our Lord the Pope, from the emperor, or from King Rudolph and the other princes through whose lands the way of my subjects lies to Rome, they conceded to me with great good will, and confirmed the same upon oath under the attestation of four archbishops, twenty bishops, besides a multitude, innumerable, of dukes and nobles, who were present. For all which favours my

* Of the new Capetian dynasty of France, or rather of Paris, Canute takes no notice: its power was up to that period but a shadow of its rising grandeur.

thanksgiving to the great God are unbounded, for that He has granted me to succeed in all my projects, which I had so much at heart.

"Know, therefore, that I have now made a vow to God to lead an exemplary life; to govern according to the rules of justice and piety, the realms and the people submitted to me; and on all occasions to hold to equity in judgment. In pursuance whereof, I adjure my ministers, to whom I have confided the government, and I command them, as also the viscounts and magistrates of my realm, as they would preserve my favour or escape perdition, no more to be guilty of injustice, either towards rich or poor. Let all persons, whether noble or ignoble, enjoy their rights according to the law, from which there must be no deviation, either from fear of the sovereign, or from men high in power, or with a view to replenish my treasury; I do not wish for treasures levied by injustice."*

Here we have the importance attaching to Rome, and the nature of the influence it exercised upon the master minds of the age we speak of, placed under our eyes in the most distinct and authentic light.

* It is evident that nought but good to both king and country, came of this pilgrimage to Rome. They were not such sycophants as would persuade him his will was law, even to the ocean waves, Canute met with there. The letter ends by announcing his intention to return through Denmark, and by urging the prompt collection of the Peter pence and other dues. Vid. *Wilkins. Concil. Mag. Brit.* t. i. p. 297.—*Labbe,* t. ix. p. 861. —*Rohrbacher,* t. xiii, p. 438—441.

This single glimpse through the opening of the dark cloud which has for so long an interval and almost entirely hidden from our view, what we may call the interior life of Rome, would of itself have excited a suspicion that, all was not so abandoned there as the annals of triumphant sacrilege we have been tracing through the dynasties of the Alberics and the Cenci, might have led us to imagine. We dwell not on this scene as a mere spectacle of earthly grandeur, or as setting forth the wealth and magnificence which must have been displayed in the Eternal City on such occasions, or on the incalculable advantages accruing from gatherings and intercourse of the potentates of the world, not alone to the temporal aggrandisement of Rome, but also to the interests of commerce, of knowledge, and of social advancement in every sense. View it in a religious light, and what can be more sublime, or in every regard, more worthy of the grand object of the Christian faith, to draw closely the bands of unity and to make of the dispersed children of Adam but one family, through the charities of a common creed and worship? Emperors, kings, prelates, princes "innumerable," with the Pontiff at their head, interchanging presents and tokens of mutual respect and affection; meekly adjusting the most arduous and complicated interests; and, in all respects, presenting the enchanting and singular spectacle we have alluded to—the leaders of the Christian world united in the bonds of peace and charity—like a most

united and loving family, around a common altar. That in an age so barbarous, these noble personages (hardly one of whom could read or write his own name), should have been able thus freely to commune with each other, though bred up in the opposite extremities of Europe, will cease to be surprising when we reflect, that nearly all the princes and nobility of Italy being of Teutonic origin, had preserved the use of the *Tudesque* tongue, which was common to all the people of the north.*

Rome was still, as in the days of Cicero or of Juvenal, the "resort of all nations." People of all costumes, and dialects, and countries, but not of conflicting creeds, for there was then but one—were seen to mingle together like the children of the same Almighty Father, the ransomed of the same Saviour, the heirs of the same Divine religion, with all its consoling, sanctifying, ennobling influence, and rapturous hopes. They prayed together in the temples, they mingled in the same processions; they met in the streets, in the hospices, on the highways, as they went and came; they interchanged exclamations and looks, and gestures of wonder, as they wandered among the ruins of the Seven Hilled city, or gazed at the statues and other monuments of the mysterious

* "Quoique les nobles ne reçussent pas en général plus d'education que leurs inférieurs, cependant, comme ils etaient *presque tous d'origine allemande,* outre la langue vulgaire qu'ils etaient forcés de parler aussi, ils avaient conservé l'usage de la langue tudesque."—*Sismondi, ubi supr.* p. 235.

past. Thus were the young nations educated as the elite of society alone, were educated in after ages. The pilgrim to Rome returned enriched with knowledge, with a mind enlarged, and with manners softened and improved.

The reign of John XIX. was also illustrated by the famous discovery of Guido of Arezzo, a monk of Pomposa, which is situated not far from Comacchio, in the district of Ravenna. A great revolution in the musical art was this discovery of Guido's: it so wonderfully facilitated the learning of the Gregorian chant, that what required years and years of the most incessant study and practice, was accomplished, through Guido's method, in a few months and with perfect ease. "It is for this reason," writes Guido to a friend, "that with all possible zeal and solicitude, the Lord inspiring me with the grace of charity, I have communicated not only to you, this gift vouchsafed to me, unworthy though I am, by the Almighty, but to as many others as I could; to the end that we may have the prayers of those who through this invention shall acquire with extreme facility, what I and those who preceded me were unable to acquire, but at the cost of infinite study and labour. The Apostle of the Supreme See," continues Guido, "Pope John, who now governs the Roman Church, having heard of our school, and how children by means of our antiphonary, are enabled to learn hymns and other canticles, which they had never heard sung by any one, was filled

with wonder, and by three several messages, invited me to his presence. I accordingly repaired to Rome with Gregory, abbot of Milan, and Peter, provost of the chapter of Arezzo, a man very learned for our times. I was received by the Pontiff with great joy. He conversed with me for a long while, and put a great variety of questions regarding my antiphonary, which he kept turning over and examining all the time; calling it a prodigy. Nay, making himself master of the rules before rising from the throne where he sat, he chanted by the notes, a verse which was quite new to him, and thus experienced in himself, what had appeared almost incredible, when it was first related by others. My ill health does not allow me to tarry here, for the summer heats would be my death; but I have promised the Pontiff to return in winter, to explain this work to himself and his clergy."*

The death of St. Romoald, was another great event of this Pontificate, and one that deeply concerns the history of the Papal States; for chiefly within their boundaries, we meet with the scenes that were blessed with the presence of this great reformer of his age, during an unusually protracted life.

* Annal. Bened. l. 55. n 100. Regarding this invention it is very justly observed by Rohrbacher: "Depuis neuf siècles, sa précieuse découverte, répandue par tout l'univers, apprand aux peuples de toutes langues, même aux sauvages de l'Océan, à chanter le Seigneur avec une ravissante harmonie."—L. lxiii, p. 431.

He lived to the age of 120 years. His labours as the apostle of central Italy, extend over nearly a century, and innumerable must have been the souls converted and sanctified during that protracted period through his zeal, which was seraphic and untiring. As he spoke, a divine fire seemed to glow within him, and to be enkindled by his words, in every breast of those who heard him. He subdued the most desperate sinners. Even the tyrants of the day who scoffed at all authority, divine and human, were overawed in the presence of this most humble and meek of hermits. We have seen how he was courted by the mighty ones of the earth, who listened to his words as to inspired oracles. His example was more potent than even his preaching; and those who turned a deaf ear to his voice were in heaven's good time, converted by his prayers, by his tears of mingled love and contrition, which used occasionally to burst forth with an impetuosity he could not control, and by his penitential austerities which were relaxed in their severity, only in death.

Some sequestered spot, surrounded by mountains and umbrageous forests, but fertile withal, and well supplied with streams and cool fountains of water bursting like crystal from the rock, was such a site as was usually chosen by St. Romoald for his colonies. Of this description was his celebrated cœnobium of Val de Castro, in the march of Camerino. Let us hear from St. Peter Damian, a contemporary witness, how things went on at Val de Castro; in

it we have a sample of the colonies of cenobites, established by St. Romoald, in every part of the Papal States from Ascoli to Orvieto.

"No sooner had the Saint and his community settled there in the little cells which they had constructed round about the church that was there from of old, than multitudes began to flock to hear his preaching. His words had a power not to be resisted, in bringing sinners to repentance, in prompting to works of mercy. He spoke like a seraph, or another Baptist: and such was the fervour of his heart, that often in the midst of his discourses his voice would become stifled from emotion. Then he would rush to his cell, or to the church, or into the adjacent forest, to give vent to his tears. Crowds of all orders of men were converted. He laboured with all the ardour of his zeal for the extirpation of simony and the other vices to which he found those abandoned who had purchased the church benefices, and shamelessly disgraced the priestly character by their worldly lives. Many who had purchased into the sanctuary, seemed to be unconscious of the enormity of their crime. They menaced St. Romoald with death, for thundering the hated truth into their ears, and the judgments which their sacrileges could not fail to draw down upon their guilty heads. All this he not only asserted, but clearly proved to them from the sacred writings and the canons. Many were induced to relinquish the churches of which they had sinfully

obtained possession, and laboured to wash out the stains of their sins in the waters of repentance. Great numbers he induced to relinquish the secular mode of life, to reside in community, and to regulate their conduct according to the discipline of the Church."*

His communities lived by the labour of their own hands—the priests, as well as the monks who were not in holy orders. They always constructed their own cells.† They lived in the greatest austerity. The contagion of their holy example extended to the country round about: and those who tilled their farms, or tended their flocks were remarkable for their virtues. In narrating these things, the biographer of St. Romoald who lived in his times, cannot repress his enthusiastic admiration of those scenes of Christian perfection which caused so many deserts to rejoice. He calls the times of St. Romoald a golden age.‡

So greatly was he loved and venerated, and of such importance were his presence and his labours, in the mind of the reigning Pontiff,—most probably Sylvester II.—that legates were sent from Rome to pre-

* C. xii. 60, 61. † C. xv. 73.

‡ "O aureum Romualdi sæculum, quod etsi tormenta persecutorum non noverat, spontaneo tamen martyrio non carebat. Aureum inquam sæculum quod inter montium et silvarum feras ita cœlestis Hierusalem cives alebat."—*Vit. S. Romuald, abb.* &c., c. xviii. 93.

vent his returning to his islet in the Adriatic. They were armed with all sorts of threats and promises, to keep him still labouring in the States for the reformation of the age. He then took up his abode first in Urbino, in a valley of the mountains, near Cagli. From this he came into Umbria. His new colony was close to Candolianum, in a place where a monastery of St. Vincent had stood from ancient times. "But wherever he went," says St. Peter Damian, "his presence was fruitful of blessings. Crowds were converted to God. A Divine fire seemed to be communicated to all breasts by his words enkindling a contempt for sinful indulgences, and the most ardent aspirations after a holy life, here, and the enjoyments of heaven, hereafter."*

It was his custom as soon as he had completely established a community in one place and saw it in activity, to move with a new colony to some other part, and there commence his work of love, converting the multitudes by his preaching, his holy example, and by the heavenly fervour which made itself felt by all who heard the sound of his voice, or even gazed upon his countenance. From Val-de-Castro he led a new colony to the neighbourhood of Orvieto, where a suitable district was given him by a certain Count Pharulphus. While in those parts, such great numbers embraced his institute that he

* Quocumque vir Sanctus ibat semper fructificans, semper animarum lucrum magis ac magis accumulans, &c.

established a great many colonies of his order, through the surrounding regions. He had monasteries on the river Esino, formerly the boundary of Umbria and Piscenium, and at Ascoli; and one founded in honour of St. Michael the archangel, at Bagno, in the Apennines, near Sarsina,—*Urbs Flaminiæ.* A refractory monk of this colony, when going *mel acquirere unde mulsum epulantibus faceret*, struck his foot against a plank of the bridge over the Sabis, fell head foremost into the river, and was drowned. He dwelt for some time on Monte Caria, in the diocese of Gubbio,* also in a part of the marshes of Commacchio, called Origarium, where he became swollen all over his body, from the effects of the malaria, lost his hair, and turned of a green colour, so that no one would have known him. Constantly resorted to by multitudes, and courted by the dukes and emperors, it was to some islet of the sea, or some out of the way place like this, he was driven for that solitude in which, like the prudent virgins mentioned in the Gospel, he fed the lamp of Divine charity and zeal. Thus when he came forth again to pursue his labours for the salvation of others, there was a mysterious power in everything about him, in his countenance as in his words, which made it visible to all, that, like another Moses, he had been in communion with the Deity.

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* Ch. vi.

Here we discover the solution of what has appeared — and naturally enough — an inexplicable paradox; even to the most gifted minds, when viewing the subject as we are obliged to express it, from a false position, and against the light.

After a century and a half of disasters, which, in their opinion, *ought* to have utterly annihilated its power over the Christian nations, they behold the Papacy erecting itself, as it were, on a sudden, with a majesty and a force which never belonged to it, say they, in any former age. The greatest power in the world is made to reel before it. It shakes off the iron grasp of the Teutonic Cæsars, assumes, with the unfaltering conviction of right and authority to do so, the delegated functions of Him by whom "kings reign, and princes decree that which is just;" and what seems still more inexplicable, this theocratic supremacy of the Papacy, which they tell us had so hopelessly fallen, is universally recognized and obeyed. "The independence of the Holy See on the imperial crown became first a practical truth, then a hallowed theory."* They tell us that the Papacy at the time of which we are now speaking "was surrendered to the scorn and hatred of mankind;" and yet in the same breath, they thus present it to our astonished view.—"Addressing the world in the language of his generation, a pope of this self-same period, proclaimed to every potentate, from

* Edinburgh Rev. art. "Hildebrand," April, 1845, p. 274.

the Baltic to the Straits of Calpé, that all human authority being holden of the Divine, and God himself having delegated his own sovereignty over men to the prince of the Sacred College (of the Apostles), a Divine right to universal obedience was the inalienable attribute of the Roman Pontiffs, of whom as the supreme earthly suzerain, emperors and kings held their crowns, patriarchs and bishops their mitres, and held them not mediately through each other, but immediately as tenants *in capite*, from the one legitimate representative of the great Apostle.* In turning over the collection of the Epistles of Hildebrand, we are everywhere met by this doctrine, asserted in a tone of the calmest dignity and the most serene conviction. In France, in Spain, in Germany, we find his legates exercising the same power, and the correspondence records many a stern rebuke, sometimes for their undue remissness, sometimes for their misapplied severity. The rescripts of Trajan scarcely exhibit a firmer assurance both of the right and the power to control every other authority, whether secular or sacerdotal, throughout the civilized world."†

The miracle by which Lazarus, after rotting for four days in the sepulchre, was raised again to life, is not to be compared to this resurrection of the Papacy, as we have it here depicted by an enemy.

* Ib. p. 289. † Ubi supra, p. 289–290.

According to their account of what occurred at the close of the dark epoch, (during which they say, that like Lazarus it lay dead and buried in corruption—"SURRENDERED TO THE SCORN AND HATRED OF MANKIND,") the Papacy is beheld reappearing, not merely full of life like Lazarus, but effectually wielding a delegated Omnipotence. It arrogates a Divine right to universal obedience, and at the bidding of this institution, just now "surrendered to the scorn and hatred of mankind," all the crowned and mitred heads of Christendom are bowed in mute submission!

"The theocratic theory, hitherto regarded as a mere Eutopian extravagance had passed into a practical and sacred reality. The fishermen of Galilee had triumphed over the conqueror of Pharsalia. The universal monarchy, which heathen Rome had wrung from a bleeding world, had been extorted by Christian Rome from the superstition or the reverence of mankind."*

To the Pagans who used to scoff at as fabulous the miracles by which it was asserted that our Lord and his Apostles had founded Christianity, St. Augustine was accustomed to say that they unwittingly assigned to it a miracle greater than any it laid claim to, viz., that of having converted the world without miracles. This reflection so worthy of the great St. Augustine, requires no special ingenuity to apply it to the case of the Papacy, as we have just heard it stated by one of the most accomplished

* Ubi supra, p. 307, 308.

and formidable of its opponents. The Papacy, in thus suddenly erecting itself from its doomed prostration, and challenging with complete success the unlimited homage of "mankind," to whose "scorn and hatred" it had been but the moment before "surrendered," has had an intervention of omnipotence thrust upon it by its foes, which has never been claimed for it by its most enthusiastic votaries.

But history is not to be written as if the great alternations and movements in the drama of humanity which it is its duty to record, were brought about in the same manner that painted scenery is shifted upon a stage. The insect labours which ultimately achieve the wreck of the proudest argossies, and build up, from the very depths of the abyss, new Edens as a dwelling for man, amidst the primeval wastes of the ocean; the economy which fills the hive with its honied treasures, which forms the mighty rivers from trickling rills and dew drops, or flakes of snow; or that which by the obscure and scorned toil, and sweat, and agonies of millions who are never destined to emerge from the deepest shadows of the historic canvass, achieves the manufacturing, the agricultural, the commercial, and even the military greatness of realms and empires, are much more akin to the process by which such revolutions as that above described, as having taken place in the destinies of the Papacy, are in reality brought about. And that it was in this matter-of-fact kind of way, and not after any scene-shifting

fashion this truly astonishing change did actually take place, we have proof that is at once decisive and above suspicion. That proof is taken from the lips of the arch-enemy of the Papacy, in his day. In that fierce and insulting invective of Henry IV. against Pope Hildebrand, (delivered to the latter under the circumstances to be detailed hereafter) the gravamen of the charge as preferred against the reforming Pope by the sceptered champion of those who had purchased into the sanctuary as people now purchase into the army, and who wedded the practice of libertines to the profession of clerical perfection, was precisely this:—"Thou, by thy conduct in their regard, by stripping them of the clerical character and expelling them from the sanctuary—hast gained THE FAVOUR OF THE MULTITUDE." Again in the same letter it is said: "Thou hast won the favour of the people, AND THROUGH THIS FAVOUR THOU HAST ACQUIRED AN IRON SWAY."* These are the statements, the formal accusations of the so-called emperor Henry IV. against Pope Hildebrand. This "iron despotism" which he is represented as wielding over every potentate "from the Baltic to the straits of Calpé," was based, we are informed, on "the favour of the people," won to the Pope because he was anything but complaisant to the gentry who had taken up their quarters in the sanctuary, as priests and bishops, not according to the canon law to that

* Bruno. De bello, Saxon.

intent, as defined by St. Paul, but according to the method by which Simon Magus was so fain to possess himself of the wonder-working powers of the Apostles. It was not then by a stage-trick, but by the broad intelligible fact that the "multitude," the "people," the great body of the faithful, went with Hildebrand, and sustained him with irresistible enthusiasm, in his sublime and successful efforts to emancipate the spouse of the Redeemer from the selfish brutality of the age, that his will had that "iron" force complained of by Henry IV., and that, as the eloquent writer so often alluded to, has put it, his behests were not less firm and peremptory than the "rescripts of Trajan," or less certain to win obedience.

On this account, it is, that keeping to our proper sphere, the lowly, and often hidden path, of reality, we have assigned to such historical agencies as the life and labours of a St. Romoald, an importance which will have appeared, perhaps, to many not only unfounded but absurd. It is easy to mock at such figures in the great drama of human history, and to deride the idea that it is by such the destinies of the European family could at any period have been shaped. In their outward bearing, (as in that of St. Paul,* and no doubt of the other Apostles also,) there is much to provoke to such conclusions; but no scorn or derision, however bitter, will have the same effect upon these stern facts that the vinegar of

* 2 Corinth. x. 1—10.

Hannibal is said to have had upon the Alpine crags. The "multitude," the "people," were full of enthusiasm for the papacy, in its struggles to emancipate the Church and reform Christendom. This "people" with the papacy at its head is the grand and irresistible power of the 11th. century. After dictating laws of the most abhorred description from "Calpé to the Baltic," it "precipitates Europe upon Asia," and thus wins at a single stroke that position for the West, which has secured for it an ascendancy over the whole world ever since. It is the means of achieving that order of things in the north of Italy, under which the free cities made such wonderful progress during the 12th and 13th centuries.

This "public opinion" of the 11th century did not come in the scene-shifting way, or by a stroke of magic; it must have been the effect of the most incredible and devoted labour. There was, then, no "public press" in Europe to create it. The press could not then have had the least effect. Even the hands that wielded sceptres could not write. All book-knowledge was proverbially the affair of the clergy. Had all the Bible Societies of modern days existed, then, what could they have effected? The polished dialects of modern Europe were at that time nothing better than unreclaimed and lawless jargons, upon which the first beams of literature had as yet to dawn.* Somebody, some

* "Le savant Muratori a fouillé, avec une patience infatigable, toutes les anciennes archives, tous les dépôts d'anciens papiers de

how or other, did actually create the "public opinion," that it was the prerogative of the Papacy and its paramount duty also not to suffer even kings and emperors to hold the See of St. Peter in chains, or to make merchandize of institutions the most Divine in Christianity. Now in the absence of the press and of Bible Societies, it only remains for us to assign the result to that propaganda, in which we find the monks of Clugni, St. Romoald, and the monkish missionaries of Rome were banded together all the time the Papacy was under the cloud, as if the same soul was in them all. The fire of their own convictions and feelings was imparted to those who listened to their preaching, and as the letter of Henry IV. assures us, had spread like a conflagration through the hearts of the "people."

The belief was universal that "simony" was not the legitimate gate to the sanctuary, and that persons keeping concubines and living in scandalous violation of their vows, were not the sort of clergy St. Paul

familles ou de communanté, sans qu'il lui ait été possible de découvrir un seul écrit dans ce language qu'on appelait *vulgaire*, par opposition au latin, réservé pour les savants, au *roman* qu'on parlait dans les Gauls, et au *tudesque* qu' employaient les peuples venus du Nord."—*Sismondi, Hist. des Repub. Ital.* t. i. p. 234.

How was this allowed to happen, if, *in truth*, it was the ordination and the wish of the Redeemer that to obtain salvation, each individual was to "search the Scriptures" for himself? Those whose cry is the "Bible, the whole Bible, and *nothing but the Bible*" should ponder on that and solve it—if they can.

would have approved of, or our Lord have selected for the diffusion of his Gospel, and the dispensation of its mysteries. It was believed that, if these scandals which came in on the heels of the Norman, the Saracen, and the Hun, had not at once been driven forth from the holy place, as if with whips of knotted lightning, it so happened only because the See of Peter, (as had occurred of old to the Apostle himself,) had been seized on, first by the Alberics and the Cenci, and then by the Teutonic kings, and by them reduced to an ignominious thraldom.*

Instead therefore of the view that would exhibit the Papacy in a light so transcendently miraculous

* What is here insisted on, viz. that the triumphs of the Papacy are traceable to the reformation of the great monastic institute which the Saracenic and Heathen invasions had overthrown, was anything but a secret to the gifted author of "Hildebrand." "He ascended the apostolic throne, armed, he says, with prescriptions in favour of the loftiest claims of the hierarchy, thus reaching back almost to the apostolic times. But he (Hildebrand) found in the Papal armoury other weapons scarcely less keen, though of a more recent fabric. Of these the most effective were the intimate alliance of the Roman see with the monastic orders." —*Ubi supra*, p. 326. Again, at p. 237, in speaking of the expulsion of the concubinators, or, as he calls them, the "married clergy," it is said, alluding to their being execrated by the multitude of the faithful, designated as the mob: "expostulations subsided into murmurs, and murmurs were drowned in the general shout of victory."

as to throw into the shade the resurrection of Lazarus, or the conversion of the world by the supernatural aid vouchsafed to the Apostles, we have to be content with the less startling and unpretending theory, which traces the wonders of the times of Hildebrand, to the zeal, the charity, the sufferings, the prayers, the multifarious and persevering labours of innumerable devoted servants of God, that, unnoticed and unknown, except by Him who "seeth in secret," had ceased not amidst all the darkness and disorders of the 10th century, to toil for the conversion of the invaders of Christendom from heathenism, and of the Christians from the brutal demoralization into which they had fallen. As has been observed already, these exertions of the saints, though scarcely noticed in history, or heeded by those who pretend to solve its problems, became manifest in the most striking manner through the effects which they produced. The Norman and the Hungarian, the various nations of the Slavi, were become as enthusiastic to honour and exalt the Church, as they had formerly been to destroy it: all the nations of the West and all orders of society were actuated by the most ardent instincts, the most firm and vivid convictions, of religion. If not "perfect," as the Patriarchs, the Christians of that period were like to them, at least in this, "they walked before God." The most sensitive recognition of His divine and ever-wakeful Providence pervaded all. All disputes and differences, no matter who, or what was con-

cerned, were referred to the "judgment of God:" and who will presume to say that the Redeemer, who is "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever," in no instance conceded miracles to that self-same virtue, so strong in the tenth century, to which He conceded nearly all the manifestations of His divine power and mercy which are recorded in the Gospel? Even the prince who was set down as another Nebuchadnezzar, as the Anti-christ of his time, Henry IV., the arch-enemy of Popes, would not wear the crown except when conferred with the appointed ceremonies of religion, and by the hands of a Pope. The Norman conqueror of Sicily will not be satisfied with his kingly title, until it is formally conferred and ratified by a Pope.

The young republics, as in the instance of Pisa and Genoa, were ready to wage a deadly war until their rivalry was quieted by the Pontiff taking both into equal favour. Nothing that could be written or imagined in an age like the present, can give an idea of the fresh and universal wakening up of energy, and hope, and rapturous gratitude towards God, with which the Christian nations felt agitated and inspired when it was found that the dread judgment day—generally expected to have occurred in A.D. 1000,—was still further adjourned by the Divine patience and longanimity, wishing to bring sinners to repentance. The respite was hailed with a universal outburst of rapturous gratitude. A

change like a glorious transfiguration, seemed to take place in the entire aspect of Christendom. The face of the earth was renewed. Vast assemblages came together under the presidency of the bishops, to take measures towards reforming vices and crimes, of procuring the more exact fulfilment of religious duties, and to put a stop to the horrors of feudal wars, by establishing the "Truce of God." An eye-witness of those scenes assures us that at the conclusion of those great Christian meetings, the people used to implore of the bishops to lift their croziers towards heaven, while they, as if with one voice, would cry, "Peace! Peace! Peace!" their hands and imploring eyes directed towards the mercy-seat, as if to ratify the pact and treaty, according to the stipulations agreed to between the Most High and his children in exile. Even war itself had the aggrandizement of religion for its aim. The spoils of victory were usually devoted to building or beautifying those glorious cathedrals, not a few of which remain to attest the grandeur and potency of this Christian enthusiasm, to the present day. During all this period there was no time at which the words of Gregory II. to Leo the Iconoclast, were not strictly applicable. The entire West continued to look to St. Peter with the most implicit reliance. To be a Christian under the headship of St. Peter, was on all hands admitted to be the crowning glory of man's being, the paramount object of his existence. The profession of the Catholic faith, was by

universal consent allowed to be a title indispensable for the validity of any and every right or privilege, from the highest to the lowest.* It is formally laid down by Henry IV. himself, in the letter already quoted, that, as having been anointed and consecrated king, he cannot be deposed for any crime, "except," he says, "I fall away from the faith, which God forbid!"†

What then was the real posture of affairs in the West at this momentous crisis? It was this, the feudal despotism was everywhere supreme. That is, the dictatorship of brute force which we traced in the rise out of the chaos consequent on the invasions, was every where established as a system; and the aim of that system, to adopt the language of the writer so often referred to, was "with stern consistency to degrade mankind into beasts of prey or beasts of burden." He adds, that this rule of the feudal nobility, was a "despotism the most galling, the most debasing and irremediable under which Europe had ever groaned." What is more, he informs us that, except through the Papacy, there was no hope of redemption from this scourge. Had

* "Chez tous les peuples Chrétiens d'alors, la première loi constitutive de la Société était la profession de la foi Catholique." —*Rohrbach. ubi supr.* l. 65. p. 292.

† Bruno. ubi supra.—*vid.* Rohrbach. l. 65. p. 291.

not the Papacy come to the rescue as it did, "the vassal of the Western, and the serf of Eastern Europe, might otherwise at this day, have been in the same social state (as in the 11th century); and military autocracies might now be occupying the place of our constitutional or paternal governments." "The progress, nay the very existence," he adds, "of Christianity and civilization, depended on the efforts of the Pontiffs. Theirs was the conflict of mental with physical power, of literature with ignorance, of religion with injustice and debauchery."*

Behold a new and signal proof that the Papacy is the mainspring of that system of Christian development and progress, arranged by Providence for bringing about the highest destinies of the human family, in a secular as well as in a religious point of view.

Already, on more than one occasion, we have seen the fate of the Christian world depending on the genius of the Popes. We saw how it was rescued by St. Gregory the Great, and how its whole future destinies were in a moment reversed by the act of Leo III., reviving the Roman Empire of the West. The condition to which Europe is now reduced,† is admitted to be more desperate than ever it was before; and it is also admitted as a matter

* Edinburgh Review. April, 1845. Art. "Hildebrand," p. 327.

† In the eleventh century.

beyond dispute, that no power on earth can save it but the Popes. "To the Popes," says the same eminent authority, "to the Popes of the middle ages was assigned a province, their abandonment of which would have plunged the Church and the world into the same hopeless slavery. To Pope Gregory VII. were first given the genius and the courage to raise himself and his successors to the level of the high vocation."*

This statement we adopt, not because we deem it to be as ample and explicit as the full measure of justice would require, but because it rids us of the necessity of what might be considered a tedious discussion, by the defining in the words of an opponent—of a most decided and accomplished opponent—the point that was at issue between the empire and the Papacy, and the interests that were at stake in that gigantic conflict about to be waged between the pontiffs and the German kings. We are told that the point at issue was this: whether the western nations were to be permanently and irreclaimably "degraded into beasts of prey and beasts of burden," or whether "Christianity and civilization were to progress under the fostering auspices of the Popes." Of the struggle itself we are told that, "it was the conflict of mental with physical power, of literature with ignorance, of religion with injustice and debauchery." It is stated that the aim of the Pontiffs in this war is to "exalt humanity,"

* Edinburgh Review, ubi supra.

while the aim of the emperors is to "degrade" it, and that if the "triumph of the Papal dynasty" was complete, it was a "TRIUMPH OVER A DESPOTISM THE MOST GALLING, THE MOST DEBASING, AND OTHERWISE THE MOST IRREMEDIABLE, UNDER WHICH EUROPE HAD EVER GROANED."*

* Ibid.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

As the hundred-and-fifty-years' agony of the Church was just drawing towards its close, the hour became as dark and as saturated with opprobrium for her, as it had been for her Divine Founder, when, from the cross, he "cried with a loud voice, saying: Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani? that is, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"* The "plenitude of Deity" did not cease to "dwell corporally" in the Redeemer in that crisis of his passion: nor had the infallibility promised by Him abandoned his Church, though overwhelmed, at this stage of her passion at which we have now arrived, with wrongs and humiliation only less infinite than His own.

Many and fearful as were the ordeals through which the Church had already passed, she had never been brought so low as now. The conflict of the martyr-ages had a natural tendency to purify the Church, to brace her energies, to bring her nearer and nearer to a resemblance with that model

* Matth. xxvii. 46.

divine, in the imitation of which consists the very life and perfection of her being; the conflicts with heresy helped to develop her self-consciousness, and by calling them incessantly into action, had made her perfect in the management of those powers with which Christ had armed her. In both these instances, as well as in that other struggle against the Barbarism in which the old Pagan civilization had perished, the danger and the attacks were from without; but in this instance, the whole mischief is within herself: they are her own children who are working her ruin. It is no longer the martyrdom that purified her members, or the contradiction of heresy that provoked her spirit to more glowing fervour and soaring activity, she has to cope with: the enemy that now attacks the Church is that brutalizing influence of the passions, which unless she can shake it off, must lead, inevitably, to paralysis and death.

We have watched from the outset this invasion, the most formidable the Church has ever had to contend against, and endeavoured, as well as the gloom that enveloped everything permitted, to point out the successive stages of its advance. Hardly had the invasions commenced towards the close of the 9th century, when there was a rush from all sides of the military chiefs, not to defend the Church against the Saracen and the Hun, but to be before-hand with them in stripping its sanctuary of everything that unscrupulous rapacity could covet as a spoil.

The occupation of the abbeys, of the episcopal sees, and of all the richer benefices, by the same class of usurpers was, as we saw by a great variety of instances, the next stage of the mischief. The cloister was changed into a kennel; the crozier and mitre were assumed by those who had torn them from an antagonist, vanquished on the breach or in the field: men, women, and children, put on the cowl of the abbot, or the rochette of the prelate, not with any intent, the most remote, to be bound by the restraints or the duties of the religious state, or of the episcopal office. They were only anxious to personate those officers of the Church, the more securely to revel in the wealth which had been destined for purposes the most sacred. A third stage of the calamity was when the hereditary principle was introduced, and that, like any other sort of property, the inheritance of Christ's Church began to be dealt with as the heirloom of families, and his priesthood to be propagated according to the type of that priesthood, which the Lord had abolished (that of Aaron), and not according to that of Melchisedec, as he had willed and ordained it to be. Then it was, that those who by divine ordinance were bound to be the "salt of the earth," became so many rocks of scandal in the path of the faithful: it was as the "abomination of desolation," they took their stand in the sanctuary, and not as the "light" which was to illumine and to vivify those who "sat in darkness and the shadow of death." In fine,

when this plague became organic by being incorporated with the feudal system, and that prescription was claimed for the most abominable transgressions, the evil had reached its height. Then the despotism of the world over Christianity became complete. St. Peter no longer held *in capite* from Christ, according to the Gospel charter: he had become the vassal of Cæsar, who was the supreme head and champion of that system which consisted in the tyranny of the brutal, over the moral and intellectual, powers of our nature; of ignorance over knowledge, of iniquity and debauchery over religion. The grand aim of this coalition of the feudal powers, the physical force of the world, was to dethrone the hierarchical principles of Simon Peter, and set up those of Simon Magus in their stead. The tide of nine centuries of hard won victories, had turned against the Papacy, from the establishment of the first Teutonic dynasty of emperors, in Otho the Great. Thanks to the doings of the Alberics and the Cenci, which were constantly giving rise to new interventions, the domination of the Kaisars waxed stronger and more audacious, from reign to reign. We have noticed what was the tone of Otho the Great when a candidate for the honour of being the champion of the Holy See: we have also remarked the firmness with which Benedict VIII. exacts from St. Henry the recognition of the sovereign independence of those who fill it; but, nevertheless, the head of the Church was, in A.D.

1046, as far from enjoying liberty, as when the first Pope was the fettered captive of Herod. In the Council held at Sutri, in that year, all these fountains of bitterness, and shame, and weakness, discharge themselves at once and with long accumulatiug violence on the Papacy. Disgraced by the crimes of Benedict IX. and outraged in the injustice of which Gregory VI. is made the victim, it lies hopelessly prostrate, to all appearance, at the feet of an illiterate barbarian autocrat, who arrogates the same prerogative with regard to the successors of St. Peter as to the head groom of his stables or the master of his kennels, so far as the right to appoint or to depose them, as he thinks fit. Never at any period, either before or since, was the Papacy brought so low—it was not alone struck down; it was disgraced, and what was a still more fatal symptom, it was the darling hope of those who should have risked all to succour it, that it should never rise again. Yet here is the very crisis in which Hildebrand appears. It is in this darkest hour the Church has ever seen we first get sight of him. All that has been passing rapidly in review had the same effect upon his being, that the slime left by the divine fire had, when being smeared on the victim and the altar—the beams of heaven fell upon it—it burst forth, a flame irresistible—"so that all wondered."* And seeing that it is from this very lowest excess of infirmity and shame that he lifts the Papacy and reinstates it in all its pristine

* 2 Maccabees i. 18—22.

majesty and power, that achievement of Hildebrand, cannot be described even by the most hostile pen, without being made to not only eclipse the greatest wonders recorded of human genius, but to throw into the shade the greatest miracles.

On the death of John XIX. in A.D. 1033, Theophylactus, who assumed the title of Benedict IX. was placed on the throne of the Apostle. He was but a mere boy; not more than twelve years of age, it is said! But what of that? He was the lineal descendant of Marozia and Alberic, and had a prescriptive right as such, to usurp and disgrace the Papacy, as his ancestors had done before him. Count Alberic, the father of this ill-fated youth, and brother of the two preceding pontiffs, could not bear the idea that what he had been ever habituated to regard as an appanage of his family, should slip from his hands. The gold which he had at his command, and the highland vassals who flocked around him from his stronghold of Tusculum and the surrounding hills, enabled Count Alberic, in a manner worthy of the traditions of his ancient house, to ride rough shod over the prescriptions of the canons; to set aside the legitimate electors; and in defiance of all laws divine and human, and of decency itself, to impose on the chair of St. Peter, the greatest monster of scandal that had ever disgraced it. Not that Benedict IX. any more

than John XII. attempted to promulgate any doctrine at variance with the deposit of the faith entrusted by its Divine founder to the Church; but he profaned and disgraced the office with which he was invested, by his personal vices. We leave it to the great and venerable Pontiff Victor III., who was the fellow labourer of St. Gregory VII. in the great work of reform, and his immediate successor in the Papacy, to tell what followed from this monstrous revival of the ancient tyranny of the Alberics.

The son of the Count of Tusculum was not long seated on the throne, when he began to give a free rein to his passions. In a merely secular prince of his years, such irregularities might have passed unheeded, but in one bearing the character and insignia of the pontificate, they were scandals too monstrous for human nature to bear, and Benedict was dethroned and expelled by a general rising of the Romans.* John bishop of Sabina, who was then intruded, under the title of Sylvester III., was in his turn obliged to fly; for Count Alberic, with the forces of Tusculum and the surrounding townships, after laying waste the environs of the city and otherwise distressing its inhabitants, obliged them after two months to open their gates to his son. Not long after this, the youthful libertine, of his own accord, proposed to abdicate an office which, shameless though he was, he still felt to be a restraint: a large pension was accordingly assigned him, he

* A.D. 1044.

voluntarily divested himself of the Pontifical office, which then devolved on John Gratian the archpriest of St. Paul's, who was very learned and highly respected for his virtues.* He took the name of Gregory VI. The legitimacy of his election was defended by the most eminent canonists of the time, and the holy eremite, St. Peter Damian, (who from his cell in the mountains of Umbria, had already commenced to exercise great influence in reforming the abuses of the age), addresses himself to the new Pope, as to the hope of the Church. The tidings of Gregory's exertions for the reformation of the disorders of the times, and the praises of his virtues he has been hearing from all quarters, have come upon his soul, he says, as welcome and refreshing as summer showers, when the earth has been long parched and languishing from torrid heats. "Glory to God in the highest," exclaims the saintly eremite, giving vent to his transports of joy, "and peace on earth to men of good will! Truly it is He who changeth times and disposeth of kingdoms. Let the heavens, then, rejoice: let earth exult, and let the holy Church congratulate herself on having recovered her liberty. Henceforward let the arts of the wicked serpent be crushed, and the foul traffic of Simon Magus be scourged from the sanctuary it has but too long profaned."† Another convincing proof of how highly this Pontiff was entitled to the

* Act. Bened. Sec. 4. par. 2. p. 451.

† Petr. Dam. Epist. Ep. 1. ap. Rohr. L. 63. p. 485.

praises thus bestowed upon him is this: the wonderful and saintly Hildebrand was his disciple. His voice was lifted in firm, though perhaps in solitary protest, against the deposition of Gregory in the Council of Sutri. He was the companion of his exile. In fine, by assuming the title of GREGORY THE SEVENTH, when he was himself elected to the Papacy, he gave the most solemn attestation of his belief that GREGORY THE SIXTH was a true Pope. It is, therefore, manifest that when, under the pretence of right and prerogative as belonging to the Teutonic kings, this Pontiff is forced from the throne of the Apostle, by Henry III., and driven into banishment, the enslavement of the Christian Church, long since accomplished in its dispersed members, is now consummated in its head also; and that, in the person of his legitimate and meritorious successor, the Prince of the Apostles is once more in chains. Thus have the insane and impious aggressions of the Roman barons, whose glory it ought to have been to shed their blood in its defence, by these doings, at length produced their fatal but inevitable results. Not only have they—these petty tyrants, the Alberics and the Cenci—reduced the divine spouse of the Redeemer to a state of humiliation as excessive as fell to his own lot, when seized and bound with cords, he was delivered into the hands of sinners: they have also succeeded in destroying all hope of progress for the West; and unless heaven interfere by miracle to avert the evil,

in dooming the human race to a thraldom the "most galling, the most debasing, under which it had ever groaned," without any ray of hope or possibility of redress. This is no empty vaunting. Every word of it is capable of the clearest historical demonstration. It is on the testimony of those who are the reverse of friendly to the Papacy, we here assert it. After thoroughly mastering the whole subject by a searching study of the relations between the Papacy and the empire, from the original sources, and with a strong and manifest bias against the former, they lay it down as a historic truism, that Hildebrand and his successors were the saviours of liberty and civilization, as well as of religion; and that had they not acted as they did, the "CHURCH AND THE WORLD MUST HAVE BEEN BOTH PLUNGED INTO THE SAME HOPELESS SLAVERY."

The obligations for which the cause of civilization stands indebted to the hierarchy of the West, during the overthrow of the Roman Empire, have been placed by M. Guizot in the most convincing light; but from the episcopacy there was in the present far more awful crisis, hardly a ray of hope. The episcopal sees had been almost everywhere usurped by the feudal nobility, and thus became the bulwarks of military despotism, instead of being opposed to it, as in the days of St. Ambrose, St. Remi, and St. Gregory of Tours. Moreover, the supreme head of the feudal hierarchy—the German Kaisers—had long dealt with the bishoprics

and with church benefices generally, as with the vilest and most mundane offices of their court, or their camp. They had altogether superseded the canonical order of election. Dioceses, abbeys, and parishes, were no longer disposed of as the constitution of the Christian Church, the zealous discharge of the Gospel ministry, and the sanctification of the people required: they were conferred by fierce and lucre-loving autocrats, either on favourites, or for a price. The imperial coffers were thus kept replenished to overflowing, by the simony that had thus identified its cause, by a community of interests, with the authority which stood at the head of the brute force of the world. Hence, it unfortunately happened that, so far were the bishops from taking the same part in the struggle now impending, as in the struggle from the fifth to the eighth century, that we find them in great numbers (with the inferior beneficed clergy, in still greater force and exasperation of zeal) arraying themselves on the side of the great military despots, to uphold the abuses. In short, they had but one cause of complaint against Henry IV., the arch-enemy of the reforming Pontiffs: he was not violent enough for this class of persons who, though a minority, were still but too numerous and too mighty in carrying on the war against those, who, in struggling to reinstate the See of St. Peter in its pristine liberty, and to raise the hierarchy and the clergy to the position in which the invasions and the consequent reign of anarchy had found

them, were fighting the battle on which the fate of civilization and freedom depended. Instead of being on the side of the reforming Popes, sustaining them like true and legitimate sons of the Church, they will supply no less than seven anti-popes to bless the cause of simony, concubinage, and revolt, ere it is overwhelmed by that same power, which not even Lucifer and his rebels could resist. Even those members of the hierarchy and the priesthood—still a majority—who were uncontaminated by the two-fold pestilence, were too closely identified with the feudal nobility and their head, the Kaiser, not by investiture alone, but also by the prestige of birth and family ties, to allow of their at all taking the initiative in any attack on the abuses, or of giving, even as auxiliaries, anything beyond a qualified and reserved assistance; so that had it not been told us in the words of Henry IV. himself, (which we have already placed before the reader), a consideration of the case in all its bearings, must have convinced us that, the faith of nations, everywhere throbbing with exuberant life, together with the chosen reserve already disciplined and prepared for conquest in the cloisters, (long since reformed as we have seen,) was the only lever by which the world could be lifted, from its otherwise hopelessly degraded condition. We also saw that that lever was placed exclusively in the hands of the Popes. To St. Peter, the faithful never at any moment ceased to resort from all nations, as to the viceroy of the

King of kings: his see they looked to as the "pillar and the ground of the truth," and his successors they regarded as entitled to the same allegiance they would have paid to himself in person. But with the heavy fetters in which the great military autocrats have loaded his successors, setting them up or hurling them down at their pleasure, how shall it be possible for them to work the lever? more especially for the overthrow of that very order of things with which the Kaisers, their masters, are bound up and identified by pride, by the love of command, the aversion to restraint, the passion, the necessity, for recruiting their treasures; in a word, by a league of those passions which are fiercest, most fondly cherished, and most indomitable, above all in the hearts of the great? The chains were, therefore, to be struck from the limbs of St. Peter —as was done of old by the angel. The Apostolic see was to be restored to its pristine liberty, or it was all over with Christianity, and with its temporal as well as eternal blessings.

This conviction came on the soul of that young and humble-born monk, in the Council of Sutri, as inspirations used of old to flash on the souls of the Prophets. That clear, unfaltering, solitary protest, which startles the ear of Henry il Nero, as at his behest they are degrading Pope Gregory VI., is the proclamation to the feudal world in its head, that Hildebrand, the young, lowly-born, mild-featured, but firm, enthusiastic-looking monk, has registered

a vow: first to disenthral the Papacy, and then, while instructing the people in their obligations, to proclaim to princes also, that there *are* limits to their power; and that there are *duties*, from which even they, as subject to the King of kings, cannot dispense themselves but at the risk of those prerogatives, which were never ceded to them, in those ages of faith, but under this express proviso, that they would not fail in, or throw off, their allegiance to Jesus Christ.

With the knowledge that the Church, amidst all the catastrophes and revolutions of this sublunary scene, never for an instant either has or can falter as to the certainty of its own future, and with the whole conflict and its results now mapped beneath our view in all the radiance, that eight hundred years and the most brilliant efforts of genius could shed upon it, it may well appear to us that after all it required no extraordinary heroism to undertake, no superhuman resources either moral or intellectual, to carry to a triumphant close, the task imposed upon himself by the youthful monk at Sutri. But we shall be in a position to judge more correctly of the realities of the case before us, by taking the views which were formed by those who were actually surrounded by all the living active terrors of the most gigantic struggle perhaps that has been ever waged.—"When intelligence of the deposition of

Henry IV.," says a writer already quoted, "first astonished the nations of Europe, the glories of Papal Rome seemed to the multitude to have been madly staked on one most precarious issue. Men foretold that the emperor would promptly and signally punish a treason so audacious, (!) and that the holy see would, ere long, descend to the level of the patriarchate of Constantinople. Nor did the wisest deem such anticipations unreasonable. They reflected that Henry (IV.) was still in the very prime of life—that he possessed a force of will which habitual luxury had not impaired, and a throne in the hearts of his people which *the wildest excess of vice and folly* had not subverted—that he reigned over the fairest and wealthiest portions of the Continent—that he commanded numerous vassals and could bring into the field powerful armies—that he had crushed rebellion among his subjects, and had no rival to dread among his neighbours—and that the Papacy had flourished under the shelter of the imperial crown, the authority of which had been so arrogantly defied, (!) and the fierce resentment of which was now inevitably to be encountered."*

If then the odds were apparently so immense against the success of Hildebrand, even when he had more than half won the victory by firmly establishing the liberty of the Papal elections in its

* Edinb. Rev. ubi supra, p. 300.

ancient integrity, and when he had exchanged the hood for the tiara, amidst the applause of the catholic world; what sort of a soul must have been his, who, while yet in youth, low-born and a monk, not only took up the resolve to enter the lists against such antagonists as the German Kaisers; but who had deliberately formed his plans, and arranged his movements with the most lucid order, so as to see his way to inevitably certain victory?

The first move of Hildebrand was to conquer himself. He took pattern by the Apostle of the Gentiles, who, knowing the struggles that were before him, with worse even than the wild beasts in the arena at Ephesus, "chastised his own body and brought it into subjection to the spirit." This first one, the arena of which was within himself, was a type of that other victory which through his instrumentality, the Church was to obtain over the world. The hallowed cloisters and solitudes of Clugni, (that nursery of the great and saintly characters who, from the very opening of the tenth century had shed a lustre upon Christendom, and prepared the way for its reformation), were the scenes of those austerities by which his spirit was thus chastened and purified, and of those serene and consecutive meditations on the sublime destinies of man and of the Church, the results of which became in his mind a kind of in-

spired foresight: enabling him, to the great astonishment of his contemporaries, to anticipate every obstacle and trial, (enormous and beyond number as they were), which intervened between him and his grand object, and to be prepared beforehand with the means to overcome them. His next stroke was aimed directly at the emancipation of the holy See, and was worthy to open the series of protracted and brilliant victories that followed it.

"At Clugni," continues the writer just referred to, "towards the end of the year 1048, a priest arrayed in all the splendour, and attended by the retinue of a Pontiff elect, demanded both the hospitality and the homage of the monks. His name was Bruno. His office that of the Bishop of Toul. But *at the nomination of the emperor Henry III.*, and in a German Synod, he had been recently *elected* to the vacant Papacy, and was now on his way to Rome, to take possession of the chair of St. Peter. The prior of the house was distinguished above all his brethren by the holiness of his life, the severity of his self-discipline, and by that ardent zeal to obey which indicates the desire and the ability to command. He was then in the prime of manhood, and his countenance (if his extant portraits may be trusted) announced Hildebrand as one of those who are born to direct and subjugate the wills of ordinary men. Such a conquest he achieved over him on whose brows the triple crown was now impending. At his instance Bruno laid aside the vestments, the in-

signia, and the titles of the pontificate, and pursuing his way in the humble garb of a pilgrim to the tomb of Peter, entered Rome with bare feet, and a lowly aspect."*

It was only when chosen as their Pontiff, by acclamation of the Sacred College and of the Romans assembled in St. Peter's, that he could be prevailed on to ascend the Papal throne. Thus through the consummate skill and mastery of Hildebrand's genius, was the great principle which he sought to establish, asserted and carried into effect in a manner the most emphatic, without in the least risking a conflict for which the holy see was not yet prepared.

This first Pontiff of the age of Hildebrand has been canonized as St. Leo IX. He was worthy to open that series of great and saintly characters, his successors, who shed such lustre on the Papacy, and who worked such wonders for the cause of genuine liberty and civilization.

Still more striking and decisive was the next move of Hildebrand; for by it he constrained those very powers whose feelings and interests, perhaps we may add, whose convictions, were most involved in keeping the holy see in vassalage, to become the chief agents of its emancipation.

* Hildebrand whom he had prevailed upon to accompany him, was not the only companion of Bruno, as is stated in the Review; from beyond the Alps all the way to Rome, he was escorted by vast multitudes who flocked around him from all parts.—*Vid. Rohrbacher*, l. 63. p. 501.

Gebhard the bishop of Eichstadt, was distinguished for his great qualities and personal virtues; but he was unhappily not less distinguished for his hostility to the resumption by the Roman Church, of its ancient and inalienable rights, in the election of its Pontiffs. Had Henry been ever inclined to falter in his pretensions, there was Gebhard at his side, highest in his friendship and confidence, to reassure the Kaiser, and to insist on his not relaxing his grasp. Yet, when in consequence of the unbounded confidence reposed in the superior wisdom and disinterestedness of Hildebrand, the right of the Roman Church to elect a successor to St. Leo IX., who died in 1054, was vested in him, this arch-opponent of his plans was the prelate of all others in the Church, whom Hildebrand insisted should be Pope.

Both the Emperor and Gebhard opposed themselves to this choice, with the greatest determination. Henry was attached by ardent friendship to his kinsman, and regarded him as his right arm, in the government of the empire. "It was utterly impossible," he said, "that he could allow him from his side." The bishop of Eichstadt went still further, to frustrate his own election. Circumstanced as he was, it would have been a banishment for him to be obliged to leave the imperial court, and go across the mountains. He even sent agents to Rome, to try and induce the Romans to protest against the choice which Hildebrand had made.* But there

* Rohrb. l. 64. p. 2, 3.

was a force of will in him, who for the time being was authorised to speak with the voice of the Roman Church, which neither the Emperor; nor his prime minister could resist. "They saw the net: they struggled to avoid it, but in vain."* Despite the real will and judgment of the Emperor; despite himself, Gebhard of Eichstadt is led to Rome; is received there with great honours; and after being unanimously recognised as Pontiff, is enthroned on Holy Thursday, under the name of Victor II. "He adopted," says the writer so often quoted, "the anti-imperial principles of Hildebrand, even to exaggeration."† Leo Ostiensis, a contemporary writer, tells us that, alluding to his opposition to former Popes, Victor II. was accustomed to say, when pressed by the trials and difficulties which are inseparable from the office with which he was invested, "Richly do I deserve to suffer all this: it is just that Paul should be made to expiate the transgressions of Saul."‡

We leave to the gifted author of "Hildebrand," to tell how he made the next great stride towards still further recovering and confirming the independence of the Apostolic see. "After a reign of eight months, Stephen IX. (who had succeeded to Victor II.) conscious of the approach of death, left to the Romans his last injunction to postpone the choice of his successor until the return from

* Edinb. Rev. ubi supra, p. 276. † *Ib.*

‡ Chron. Cassin. l. ii. c. 89.

Germany of Hildebrand, whom he had appointed cardinal archdeacon of Rome, and legate to the imperial court. The command was obeyed. Hildebrand reappeared bringing with him the consent of the empress-regent (Henry III. being for some time deceased), to the choice of Gerard, bishop of Florence. He accordingly ascended the chair of St. Peter. Like each of his three immediate predecessors, he sat there at the nomination of Hildebrand, —the one great minister of his reign, and dictator of his measures. At his instance, Nicholas II. (so was he now called,) summoned a Council, at which was first effected, in the year 1059, a revolution, the principle of which, at the distance of eight centuries, still flourishes in unimpaired vitality. It, for the first time, conferred on the College of Cardinals the exclusive right of voting at Papal elections. It set aside not only the acknowledged rights of the emperor to confirm, but the still more ancient privilege of the Roman clergy to nominate their bishop. But Hildebrand was now strong enough in his Norman alliance to defy a power before which so many churchmen had trembled. At his summons, Robert Guiscard (who held the south of Italy as vassal of St Peter), broke down the fortresses of the Roman counts and barons, WHO WITH THEIR RETAINERS HAD BEEN ACCUSTOMED IN THE COMITIA OF PAPAL ROME, TO RIVAL THE EXPLOITS OF CLODIUS AND HIS GLADIATORS. Their authority was arrested for ever, and from that period their name

ceases to appear in the history of Pontifical elections. The title of duke, and a recognition of his sovereignty, over all the conquests which he had made, or should ever make, rewarded the obedience of the Norman."*

According to this way of stating the subject, all things run smooth; but it was far otherwise as the story is told by writers who were not only living at the time, but who took a prominent part in the transactions. From their concurrent testimony it appears that, on the demise of Stephen IX. another desperate attempt was made by the Alberics to recover their lost hold of the Papacy. Gregory, who was brother to the ill-starred Benedict IX. (and who had succeeded his father Alberic III., count of Tusculum,) as head of the faction, being joined by Gerard of Galeria, the most notorious baronial highwayman of his time, they fell upon the city by night with an armed multitude of retainers and brigands, and carrying St. Peter's by storm, violently thrust Count Gregory's brother into the chair of the Apostle without any formality whatever, and even in defiance of the only legitimate representatives of the Roman Church, with St. Peter Damian, the then Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, at their head. The comparison drawn in the passage just now quoted, between the conduct of the Roman Counts and their retainers in the comitia of Papal Rome and the exploits of Clodius and his gladiators, might well have been suggested by the atrocities

* Ubi supr. p. 278.

which took place on this occasion, and the terrorism which oppressed the city. The wretched idol set up by the faction, under the title of Benedict X., could hardly be regarded as anything more than an instrument in the hands of the wicked, so bereft was he, not to say of ability, but of as much sense as would save him from being set down as an idiot. In short he went by the name of Mincio or Minchione, which signifies an absurd blockhead, or a compound of stupidity and assumption. St. Peter Damian, in writing of him to a friend, an archbishop who had asked his advice, thus expresses himself: "In fine, let him only interpret correctly one single line, I will not say of a psalm, but of a homily, and my opposition to him shall cease; I will at once fall down and kiss his feet."* However, John of Velletri was of the proper stock: he was the brother or near kinsman of Benedict IX. and of the reigning Count of Tusculum. His being an idiot or a dotard was an additional recommendation, with those to whom he stood indebted for his exaltation to the throne. He was just the sort of Supreme Pontiff, under whose auspices the hopes which they cherished were most likely to prosper; and as for the unfortunate antipope himself, there is this much to be said in his exculpation that, when Pope Nicholas II., with Hildebrand who had brought about his election, and the other cardinals arrived in Rome, A.D. 1059, he came and threw him-

* Petr. Damian. Epistol. L. 3, Ep. 4.

self at the Pontiff's feet imploring forgiveness, protesting that all had been done by violence; and that if he was made to appear in the light of a perjurer and a usurper, it was not so much his own fault as that of others, who made him do as they liked.

In this transaction we discover the provocation that called for, and amply justified the wisdom and propriety of, the decree for regulating the Papal elections, which is alluded to in the passage cited above, but not accurately represented. On the opening of the Synod of this same year, 1059, in which it was enacted, the Pope thus addressed himself to the august assembly. "Well-beloved brethren and fellow-bishops, to you as to the inferior orders of the clergy also, it is not unknown that this Apostolic see was plunged into such an abyss of suffering and danger through the malice of simoniacal factions, that it looked as if the column erected by the right hand of the Most High was about to be shattered, and the promises entrusted to St. Peter to suffer shipwreck. On this account it is, that we feel bound, with the aid of God, and with the goodwill of our brethren, to take precautions against the recurrence of similar scandals —the bane and the disgrace of the Church. We, therefore, following the authority of our predecessors and the other Fathers of the Church, ordain and decree—that on the demise of the Pontiff of the Church, Roman and Universal, the Cardinal-bishops, in the first instance, shall treat together concerning the election—that they having done so shall summon

the Cardinal-clerks to take part in their deliberations; and, in fine, that the rest of the clergy and the people shall be called on for their consent, that thus by leaving it to men the most religious to commence the election, the door may be closed against all occasion of venality." Having shown how conformable with the most ancient ordinances of the Fathers, and especially of St. Leo the Great, is this arrangement, the Pontiff proceeds to say: "The choice shall be made within the same church, in case a fit subject can be found: if not in another—respect being had to our dear son Henry, at present only king, but who shall one day be emperor, if it so please God, (according to the promise we have accorded him to that effect) and also to those of his successors, to whom the Apostolic see shall grant the same personal right. And should it so happen at any time, through the perversity of factions, that election pure and gratuitous cannot be had within the city, the Cardinal-bishops shall, in that case, and in whatever place may be judged most suitable, proceed to the election in conjunction with the rest of the clergy and the lay catholics, however few in number; nor shall the right of the Pontiff thus elected to govern the Roman Church and to administer all its possessions, be barred, even should war or any other obstacle from opponents, prevent his being inthroned in the Apostolic chair according to custom." The example of St. Gregory the Great is quoted in support of this part of the decree, which then concludes

with menace of anathema against such as shall perversely violate it, and with the invocation of blessings on those who shall faithfully observe its wise and salutary injunctions.*

Hitherto, the career of Hildebrand, encountering only a comparatively slight resistance, has had in its favour a variety of circumstances by which its success has been greatly promoted. The demise of Henry III. ere the development of the reformer's objects had as yet excited alarm, and the protracted nonage of his son and successor, the fourth Henry, supplied an opportunity for maturing their plans and in every way strengthening their position, which Hildebrand and his great and saintly allies were prompt and indefatigable in improving. While the holy see was gradually righting itself in the manner we have described, the flagrant abuses which had invaded the sanctuary, were formally condemned in frequent Synods, held either at Rome, under the immediate eye of the Pontiffs, or under their legates, in those provinces of the ecclesiastical empire, where the ancient discipline stood most in need of being re-asserted and enforced. The zeal and ardour of the faithful had been everywhere aroused by such envoys of the Apostolic see, as St. Peter Damian, St. Peter of Anagni, the great Anselm of Lucca, Desiderius or Didier, of Monte Casino,

* Hugo Flavin. Chron. Virdun. apud Labbe. Biblioth. nov. p. 192. Rohrb. L. 64. p. 56, 57.

by Hildebrand himself, and a host of others, like St. John Gualbertus, and St. Arialdus,—the determined and accomplished foes of simony, and of its concomitant libertinism amongst the clergy. But a sagacity less profound than that of Hildebrand, must have been aware from the outset, that, however long it might be adjourned by prudence and by keeping scrupulously within the bounds of incontrovertible law, the hour must inevitably arrive at last, when it would be necessary to resist by arms the furious efforts, the despotism from which he was bent on rescuing the Christian Church was certain to resort to, when once aroused into action. It was on this account that, while it was lamented by others, the liberator of the Apostolic see was delighted at the establishment in the south of Italy of a fresh and matchless race of warriors, the conquering Normans, who gloried in being the vassals of St. Peter, ever ready to do battle in defence of his rights; and that he drew closer those bonds of friendship, sacred and indissoluble even in death, which was the means of raising up an invincible protectress for the Papacy on the side of the north. He had also known how to enlist all the nobler sympathies which distinguish the Romans. A renewed spirit of zeal for religion had grown up amongst them, and a proper sense of that in which their glory, rightly understood, and even their temporal interests consist, *viz.* to uphold that monarchy which has eclipsed all the proudest glories of the Cæsars.

Ten thousand hands, all actuated by the spirit of Hildebrand, are all devotedness and activity, preparing the bark of St. Peter: nor are they too many, or more enthusiastic than the crisis requires. The tempest will, of a certainty, be fearful, and already it is rising, fast and wildly. Its first rush from beyond the Alps, with the redoubled fury it acquired as it swept over Lombardy, must, if anything could do it, have overwhelmed the Papacy. A sentence of deposition pronounced against Pope Nicholas, in a diet of the princes, ecclesiastical and lay, of all Germany, with the youthful King Henry IV. at their head: a prohibition to recite that Pontiff's name in the canon of the mass; and to crown all, a solemn anathema to be made ring in his ears by the heralds of the Kaiser—behold the reply to a letter in which Annon, the archbishop of Cologne, was severely reproached for not only not suppressing, but for conniving at abuses which, a scandal to Christendom, were rapidly undermining the Christian religion in Germany. This otherwise incredible proceeding, is attested by two contemporary writers—Anselm of Lucca, who was legate in Germany, at that very time, and Bennon or Benzon, a cardinal, who afterwards distinguished himself amongst the schismatics for violence against Gregory VII.*

No doubt this outburst is in a great degree to be assigned to the agents who had been sent across the

* St. Anselm. contr. Guil. ap. Canis. t. vi. p. 221: ed. in 4to. t. iv. p. 382. in fol. Ben. l. 7. c. 2. p. 397.

mountains by a tumultuary gathering of the Lombard bishops and clergy, to notify a resolution to which they had come, to recognize no Pope but one selected from the "Italian Paradise," as they entitle Lombardy. They wanted, they said, a man of easy temperament, and disposed to make allowance for their weaknesses. By all possible means they tried to exasperate the German court, thus to counteract that rising movement for a reform, to which none in the Church had stronger incentives for hostility than they.*

In the mean time, the holy see thus menaced continued without a pastor. That great and holy Pontiff Nicholas II., had been called from this turbulent scene, towards the end of June, A.D. 1061: it was now drawing towards the close of September, while the best tidings from the envoys who had been sent to the court of the Empress Agnes and her son, regarding his successor, were, that they could not so much as obtain an audience, or present their letters. The youthful Henry, already a match for an Eliogabalus or a Nero, in the excesses of lust and cruelty, to which he abandoned himself without restraint or decency, was heart and soul with that party, consisting of the high feudal nobility, both of Lombardy and Germany, who had seized on the Church as their inheritance, and who were already

* Petr. Dam. Opusc. 4.—Vid. Acta Sanctor. 27 Junii. Vit. S. Arigld.—Epist. S. Petr. Dam. &c.

bestirring themselves, with their good swords to maintain their prescriptive privilege to trade in simony, to trample on all discipline; and, while setting themselves up in the high-places of that Church, which had ever insisted on self-denial in those to whom it entrusted the holy things of God and the privilege to ascend his altar, to substitute for its wise and time-hallowed canons the impulses of corrupted nature. Under these menacing circumstances, the Cardinals and Roman nobility were brought together by Hildebrand. After mature deliberation, and adhering to the decree of the late Pontiff, they proceeded to the election of his successor. Their choice fell on Anselm of Lucca, whose virtues and great intellectual powers, had extorted the respect and admiration of the German court, where, as legate, he had long resided. But no management or moderation, nothing short of the utter abandonment of the attempt to reassert the independence of the see of St. Peter, and to reform the Church, could avert the onslaught which the powers, above alluded to, were preparing. The new Pope took the name of Alexander II., and was crowned on Sunday, the 30th of September, A.D. 1061, Robert Guiscard with his conquering Normans, being present, in his capacity of vassal of St. Peter and champion of his rights. Unbounded was the exasperation with which these tidings were received beyond the Alps. There was forthwith a grand gathering at Basle, where an antipope was elected with whom even the most enthu-

siastic in the cause of simony and concubinage, must have been content: at a time when paragons in both were but too rife, the thrice degraded Cadaloüs of Parma, stood pre-eminent. Gerard of Galeria, the prince of highway robbers, whom we have already met with as the ally of the Count of Tusculum, was the chief promoter of the new anti-pope's election. He and the other Roman counts and barons of the same stamp, such as the Alberics and the Cenci, continued to support Cadaloüs in hostilities, with which he long continued to harass and persecute the holy see. This is affirmed in a public document, drawn up by St. Peter Damian, and not questioned as to its correctness by the German court, to which it was presented. We have the letters of the same most noble, amiable, and saintly personage, in which he upbraids the antipope with his crimes, and expostulates with him on his conduct. He reminds him how frequently he had been pardoned by the holy see, condemned as he had been at Pavia, at Mantua, and at Florence, in three successive Councils. "Hitherto," he continues, "the scandals of your life—your bestowal of the care of souls, not on those best qualified to teach and edify the faithful, but on whoever paid you the highest price; your other actions so shameful that I should blush to name them, were not so much talked of beyond the limits of your own see, but now the whole world is talking of nothing else."*

* Petr. Damin. Epist. l. I. Ep. 20.

Again, in the letter immediately following, St. Peter thus addresses him: "Suppose that forgetful of his providence, the Almighty were to permit you to occupy the chair of the Apostle, I appeal to yourself, would it not be a source of rejoicing to the wicked everywhere, a triumph for the enemies of the Christian religion; and on the other hand, for all who love the justice of God, and desire to see piety and virtue increase, would it not be a token of the impending and total ruin of the Church?"*

"There was a profound truth," says Rohrbacher, "in this last reflection. We have seen how wide spread were the ravages of incontinence and simony amongst the clergy. We have seen what elements of corruption were fermenting in and around the German court, the nursery and school of the prince who as future emperor was to be the defender of the Roman Church. Suppose, under these circumstances, a Pontiff at the head of the Universal Church, himself infected with every vice, and the fomenter of vice in others by his example; it would be just the opportunity for the gates of hell to prevail against the Church, and for the hopes of the human race a second time to suffer shipwreck."†

But the schismatics, who were after all but a handful in Germany or in Lombardy either, compared with the immense majority devoted in both countries to the cause of Catholicity and of the

* Ibid. Ep. 21. † L. 64. p. 90.

Apostolic see, were doomed to enjoy but a short-lived triumph and to meet with an ignominious downfall. Cadaloüs was condemned as an anti-pope and deposed by all the bishops of Germany, assembled in Council at Osbor in Saxony, on the vigil of Saints Simon and Jude, October the 27th, A.D. 1062. Yet so far were those who held the administration from being opposed to Cadaloüs, that in the war with which he ceased not to harass the holy see, he could ever calculate upon their zealous though underhand support—a line of policy which we have seen honoured with adoption by one of the foremost statesmen of the times in which we live.* At length after two years procrastination, and as if shamed by the reiterated and able remonstrances addressed to it, the German court selected Annon, the archbishop of Cologne to go to Rome. The Pope received him with much kindness and affability. The deportment of Annon, and the tone in which he delivered himself of his commission were tempered by a modesty and a manifest wish to conciliate that took away all appearance of disrespect. "Brother Alexander," he began, "how has it happened that, without the order and consent of the king, my master, you have received Pontificate, seeing that for a long time the kings are incontestably in possession of this right?" He then adduced the best proofs he could of what he had asserted.

* Vid. MacFarlane's "Revolutionized Italy," &c. London, 1849, and the Times correspondent from Naples and Rome—*passim*.

But he was answered by Hildebrand and the Cardinal-bishops, that according to the canons, kings had no right to meddle in the election of the Popes, and the question having been fully debated, the Archbishop ended by coming so far into their view as to acknowledge Alexander II. as the true Pope, and to repeat the condemnation already pronounced against Cadaloüs in the German Synod.* But even this did not break the heart of the antipope or his party. With the aid of his friend Gerard of Galeria, and of the treasures he had amassed from simony, he was enabled to surprise the Leonine city in a night attack. But no sooner had the morning dawned than the Romans rushed in such multitudes and with ardour to drive him from St. Peter's, that with his partisans he decamped without waiting to be attacked. In Cenci, however, the son of the city-prefect, the antipope as was natural found a zealous and able supporter. By this hereditary foe of the Pontiffs, Cadaloüs and his partisans were transferred from their hiding places to the great fortress of St. Angelo. In this instance, however, a traditional instinct, if we may so express it, was not the only motive of Cenci for siding with the intruder against the lawful heir of the Apostle. He was urged to this and to immeasurably worse outrages, as we shall see ere long, by Henry, who could not possibly have selected a more congenial instrument, or one

* Baron. et Pagi, ad an. 1064.

better qualified to second him in that assault which he was already contemplating on the head-quarters of the Church. But the city of God was not taken by surprise; nor was the crisis allowed to come until through that special Providence that watches over its destinies with an ever wakeful eye, the holy see had been thoroughly prepared to meet it.

For a long time before his demise in the year 1073, Alexander II. had the consolation to see the waves subside, which when he first assumed the helm seemed ready to engulf the bark of Peter. Even in Lombardy he had made a triumphal progress from city to city. At Mantua he held a Council, where all the bishops, and the refractory clergy in great numbers were reconciled to the Church, loudly condemning their former idol, the antipope. At Milan, St. Arialdus who had been first mutilated in a hideously cruel manner, and then put to death by the abettors of simony and incontinence, of which he was a most fearless and zealous opponent, was solemnly canonized as a martyr. The unfortunate Cadaloüs himself, as we learn from two ancient Italian writers, had the grace to see and recant his errors before his death.* The Germans also came crowding to Rome—they came, however, no longer to impugn the authority of the Pontiffs but to claim its exercise against the enormous crimes and the tyranny of their king, which

* Vid. Baron. ad an. 1064. n. 40. Pagi, an. 1064. n. 4.

had grown too heavy for earth to bear. "Of the domestic life of the young emperor," says the author of Hildebrand, "the dark tale recorded by the chroniclers of his age, would not be endured by the delicacy of our own. His public acts might seem to have been prompted by the determination to exasperate to madness the national pride, the moral sense, and the religious feelings of his subjects."* Content to refer the reader to the Protestant historian Voight, for the details by which it is made clear as the light of day, that Henry, with being the most ferocious of tyrants, was as lost to every manly instinct of honour, as he was abandoned to a libertinism that made light of violence and assassination in attaining its objects, we restrict ourselves to the statement borne out by the concurrent testimony of those who lived and wrote at the time, that he not only sold openly the sees and benefices to the highest bidder, but was accustomed in case a second purchaser offered a higher price after the first had been installed, to depose the latter as being guilty of simony, and set up the other in his place. Thus it happened that in many cities there were two bishops, rivals in wickedness as well as in their preten-

* Edinb. Rev. ubi supr. p. 283. It may be briefly said that this monster under a noble figure, had so comported himself as to make his mother grieve that she ever had a son, his queen that she ever had a husband, his son that he ever had a father, his subjects that he had ever reigned; and that the news of his death was received with universal joy throughout the Christian nations. Each of these assertions is capable of overpowering proof.

sions, but united in being the curse and the scourge of the faithful. His confidants were not less liable than those who had the hardihood to disapprove of his wickedness to be made the victims of his vengeance. A word, a look, if it excited his suspicion was sure to seal the doom of his greatest favourite; nor was there any sign that could warn the wretch of his danger before the stroke descended; for as old Bruno the chronicler says, he was such a master of dissimulation, that he could smile to the last on those whom he had already sentenced, and when he knew they were beyond reprieve, could pretend, even to shedding of tears, to mourn over their loss.* "Long repressed resentment burst out in the grossest indignities against the recreant sovereign," says the author of Hildebrand, in depicting the effect of all this on the Germans. "Unworthy to wear his spurs or his crown, so ran the popular arraignment, he descended at a step from the summit of human greatness almost to the condition of an outcast from human society. A diet had been summoned for his deposition. His sceptre had been offered to Rudolph of Swabia. A few days more and his crown, if not his life, had been forfeited."† And all this takes place, be it held in memory, before Hildebrand, whom it is cus-

* Bruno de bell. Saxon. Chron. Magd. ap. Rohrb. l. 64. p. 156.

† Edinb. Rev. ubi supr. p. 291.

tomary to set down as the prime mover of all these commotions, has been at all drawn into the debate.

The death of that great and saintly pontiff Alexander II., occurred on the 20th of April, A.D. 1073: on the day of his interment, the Sacred College, so soon as the solemn obsequies had been concluded, proceeded to an act which they have themselves recorded in the following ever memorable decree:—

"Under the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the year of his merciful incarnation one thousand and seventy-three, indiction and moon the eleventh, the 10th of the kalends of May, the second feria, the day of the sepulture of our Lord Pope Alexander II. of happy memory:—to the end that the Apostolic chair be not left in mourning a long time, deprived of a proper pastor, we the cardinals, clerks, acolytes, subdeacons, deacons, priests of the holy Roman Church, Catholic and Apostolic, assembled in the basilica of St. Peter *ad vicula*, with the consent of the venerable bishops, abbots, priests and monks here present, and with the applause of this great assembly of both sexes, and of all ranks, do elect for our Pastor and Sovereign Pontiff, the religious man profoundly versed in sacred learning, ardent in his love of equity and justice, intrepid in adversity, moderate in prosperity, and, to use the

words of the Apostle, adorned with all good works, modest, unsullied, sober, chaste, hospitable, governing well his house; brought up and instructed in a distinguished manner from his earliest years, and in the bosom of this Mother Church; and, on account of his merits, promoted to the high dignity and office with which he is invested up to this hour when we elect him, the said Archdeacon Hildebrand, willing and approving that henceforth and for ever he be called Gregory VII., Pope and Apostolicus. Doth it pleasure you? 'It pleasures us!' Will you that he be your Pontiff? 'We will it!' Do you applaud him? 'We applaud him!' Done at Rome, the 10th of the kalends of May, 11th indiction."

Both before and after the reading of this decree, the clergy and people as if with one voice, cried aloud, 'St. Peter has elected Hildebrand! St. Peter has elected Pope Gregory!'* Elected against his will and in despite of his protestations, he refused peremptorily to be consecrated or to take any title but that of Pope elect, until that clause in the decree of Pope Nicholas II., should have been complied with —to wit, that, to Henry, king of Germany, *as being emperor elect*, due notice of the election should be given and his sanction asked. "The most unimpeachable decorum presided over the whole ceremonial that followed. Envoys passed and repassed. Men of grave aspect (and the *avowed enemies of the Pontiff elect*, it should have been added), instituted tedious

* Baron. ad an. 1073.

inquiries. Solemn notaries attested prolix reports; and in due time the world was informed, that of his grace and clemency, Henry, king of Germany and Italy, calling himself emperor, had ratified the election of his dearly-beloved father Gregory VII."* Thus there was not the slightest symptom of anxiety or haste, on the part of Hildebrand, to mount the throne. His resistless will was only exerted that the whole transaction should be rigorously examined into, and no single formality omitted or hurried over, while he sat by with the indifference as to the issue, of a firm calm-minded judge, who thirsts only after justice. But when, after having been ordained priest on the octave of Pentecost, and consecrated bishop the Sunday within the octave of the Apostles, he at length took his place on the Papal throne, even by confession of his enemies a true and canonical successor of St. Peter, there arose a mysterious conviction throughout all Christendom, that heaven had raised up a Pope who was to give a new impulse to the Church and to the world, and to stamp his name upon an æra.

The following brief letter, in which he pours out his whole soul into the bosom of his friend, will give us a clearer insight into the *real* character, views and dispositions, of this most misrepresented of Pontiffs, than all the melodramatic panegyrics or invectives

* Edinb. Rev. ubi supr. p. 280.

that have been ever written about Hildebrand could convey. The letter, addressed to the abbot of Clugni, was written about a twelvemonth after Gregory's election. "I am anxious," he says, "to make you comprehend fully the greatness of the woes that press upon me. The compassion you will feel for me will cause you to pour out your heart and your tears before the Lord, to the end that Jesus who became poor for us, though by him all things were made and are governed, may stretch out his hands to me and deliver me from my misery with his accustomed bounty. Often, according to his grace, have I implored of him, either to take me from this life, or to render me useful to the Church, our common mother: as yet, I have not been heard. Turn my eyes to what side I will, nothing but subjects of immense affliction do I discover. In the east, a Church separated from the Catholic faith: if I look to the west, or to the south, or to the north, but few are the bishops I can discern who have entered the episcopate by courses approved of by the canons, or who live as bishops ought. Amongst the secular princes, I know of none who prefer the glory of God to their own, or make interest give way to justice. As for those amongst whom I dwell, I mean the Romans, the Lombards, and the Normans, I have often to reproach them that they are worse than Jews or Pagans. When I come to consider myself, I find I am so over burdened with the weight of my sins, that I durst not hope for salva-

tion but through the infinite mercy of Jesus Christ. If the light gathered from experience did not enable me to be of some use to the Church, I would quit this city, where I have dwelt through constraint, for the last twenty years. Hence it arises, what with sorrows which each day brings with it, what with hopes, which alas! continually recede, being crushed and overwhelmed by a thousand tempests, my life, so to speak, is a protracted death. Like a captive I await the coming of Him who has bound me in these fetters, who brought me against my will to Rome, and permitted me to be surrounded by a thousand agonies. How often do I say to Him, O hasten, do not delay; deliver me for the love of the Holy Virgin and of St. Peter. But as the prayers of a sinner are not soon heard, do you pray for me, and make those pray who deserve to be heard."*

Behold the real not the fabulous Hildebrand. How strikingly do not the two pictures contrast—the one sketched in all the simplicity and candour of truth, the other set off with all the garishness of fancy. At a glance, it strikes us that the being painted in the confession to the bosom friend is a reality, is no chimera. The portrait is, manifestly, no ideal sketch. It bears evidence, on the face of it, that it represents, to the very life, a man who "lived and moved and had a being,"—one born in the likeness of the old Adam, and yearning to

* L. 2. Ep. 49.

act according to the New Adam :-one not a stranger to such trayailings as St. Paul describes, when at one time exclaiming, "who shall deliver me from the body of this death;"* at another, "I am certain that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor might, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate me from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord!"† "Of myself, I am nothing!" he cries out, and then adds in the same breath; "but I can do all things in him who strengthens me!" Yes, this portraiture of the letter of the friend to the friend, of the confession of one devout enthusiastic monk to another; this agonising cry for help from a position of the greatest peril, bears no more resemblance to the Hildebrand of the traducers of the Papacy, or of latitudinarian statesmen, than does the human face divine to its caricature by a malignant or ribald fancy: but it is on that account the more incontrovertibly a genuine delineation, and a likeness.‡

This Hildebrand of the letter—"private and confidential"—to the monk of Clugni, is on the highest throne in the world. Emperors like Barbarossa kiss his feet: or when he goes forth in state, perform

* Romans vii. 24. † Ib. viii. 38, 39.

‡ Animalis homo non percipit *ea quæ sunt Spiritûs Dei*: STULTITIA enim est illi, et NON POTEST intelligere.—1. Corinth. ii. 14.

for him the most menial office, hold his stirrup and lead his horse. He is on this throne, the summit of the world: when he writes, on such a pinnacle of grandeur, what are his thoughts? They are like those of Nebuchodonosor, who said that "his thoughts were to bring all the earth under his empire."* And yet between Hildebrand and Nebuchodonosor there is a sharp, decisive, antithesis, as to the feelings with which they look out over the subject world. As for the Heathen autocrat, "his heart was elevated;" †but sadness "immense" is in the heart of the supreme vicar of Christ, when from a throne far higher than that even of Nebuchodonosor, his eye surveys the nations. The self-same burden is now upon his heart, which even for St. Paul was a burden that made him groan—"the solicitude of all the Churches." To crush that wondrous scene on which he gazed, into that which is so exquisitely expressed in the single little word *self*—was the aim of the heathen despot, as it has been, and ever will be, with those potentates of whom he was the type. To work out those three words of the Paternoster —"THY KINGDOM COME!" that was the thought agitating the soul, it was the heaven appointed task, of Hildebrand. There was a conviction in the heart of this autocrat, as he looked out from the pinnacle of the earth, that unless he "spent himself and was spent,"—like the Apostle before him—to

* Book of Judith ii. 3.

† Ib. i. 7. See also Dan. iv. 27.

transform that earth into heaven, the face of Jesus, except in anger, he could never hope to see. "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven,"—at the peril of his eternal destinies, he had to look to the execution of that law. What wonder then, that four words summed up his life,—"I have loved justice, and hated iniquity?"—what wonder, that on surveying the nations, either yet buried in the depths of chaotic ignorance and brutalization, (the clouds and tempests of the 10th century still rolling in dread disorder,) or only emerging to be again plunged deeper, and that by those who should have risked all to save them, that the emotion of such a heart as his should be that of "immense sadness?" Why does he not fly then to the cloister?—The ray of experience makes him hope, he can be of some use to the Church, 'our common mother,'—the spouse of the "poor Jesus, who made and governs all things!" Without his own seeking, against his will, with the approval and sanction of his enemies, they have placed him in that position of peril beyond imagining. Hildebrand feels he is there, not by his own, but by the will of God,—and with that conviction, glowing, brilliant, imperishable as the light of heaven that has emblazoned it on the fleshly tablets of his heart, no might of earth or hell, or of both combined, shall be able to shake him in that throne, or deter him from asserting and discharging with all the intensity of his mighty will, what his knowledge of the "one and the other science" has taught him

are its divinely appointed functions and duties. Flight for Hildebrand! The men of his age said he was more immoveable than heaven and earth. Death had for him no terrors: martyrdom would have been the crowning of his ambition and his wishes. Amidst dangers and toils incessant and immense, his spirit was in its proper element. Fly, or falter? Never! He will calmly look around him—survey the world—get a clear, thorough knowledge of his position; and then gird up his loins for victory.

To the East he naturally turns first. The eternal 'Sun of Justice' had risen there. There was the seat of Paradise, the Land of Promise, the country where the "poor Jesus, who created and governs all things," was born, lived, suffered, died, to enable him to make, of earth a heaven. There, too, was his sepulchre, which the prophet had predicted should be "glorious." If ever there was a subject for "immense sadness," it was the East as it opened on his view. There, in its birth-place, instead of any sign that the "kingdom" is expanding, its earliest conquests are seen torn away by schism, laid waste by heresies; the few who have not fallen away from their allegiance to Christ, or who venture in pilgrimage to his sepulchre, are hacked by the scimitars, and trampled under the hoofs, of the blasphemers of His divinity! Here is the record, by himself, of the emotions which arose in the soul of Hildebrand, as from that high place he looked towards the "East." His letter is to Henry IV., while he can yet write to

him in the language, as he ever felt for him the love, of the father of the prodigal for his wayward son :—

" Furthermore, I have to apprize your grandeur that the Christians beyond the seas are persecuted cruelly by the Pagans. Daily they are put to death as vile dogs, and overwhelmed by the misery which oppresses them, they send to me, imploring humbly for me to succour them in whatever manner I can, and to prevent the Christian religion from being utterly extirpated from amongst them. This fills me with excruciating grief. I have longed for death. For I had far rather expose my life for their sake, than, neglecting to assist them, to have command of the whole earth. Wherefore I have been labouring to rouse the sympathy of all Christians in their behalf, and to persuade them, for the sake of their brethren, to be ready to lay down their lives; and by thus gloriously risking all in defence of the law of Jesus Christ, to give proof of that nobility of the children of God which is in them. The Italians and those beyond the mountains, by inspiration of heaven I have no doubt, have right nobly responded to this exhortation. Already there are more than fifty thousand, if they can only have me for their chief and Pontiff, who are prepared to march in arms, in defiance of all the enemies of God, and with His guidance, to halt not but round the sepulchre of their Redeemer.

" What still more powerfully excites me to this enterprize, is that the Church of Constantinople,

separated from us on the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, is asking to be réunited to the Apostolic See. Nearly all the Armenians are falling off from the Catholic faith, and almost all the Oriental Christians await in suspense for the faith of St. Peter to decide between their conflicting opinions. The age in which we live cries out for the accomplishment of that which the Redeemer vouchsafed, by special grace, to ordain regarding the Prince of the Apostles, in saying, 'I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not: that thou, being converted, confirm thy brethren.' And because our fathers, in whose footsteps, though unworthy, we wish to tread, have more than once passed into those countries to confirm the Catholic faith, we are also bound to go thither for the same faith, and for the defence of Christians, if God will only open for us the way."*

"The West." The scenes, though different from those in the East, are still a subject for immense tribulation of heart; but the heart of Hildebrand is not cowed: it is only roused up in all its might, to cope with these disorders. It is a furnace of the "love of justice," and no iniquity can stand unscathed before it.

In turning to survey the West, it was natural

* L. 2, Epist. 31.—Godefroy de Bouillon was already one of the most renowned warriors of the West, when these visions, so soon to become realities, were glowing before the mind of St. Gregory VII.

his regards should rest on France—the realm of Clovis and of Charlemagne—the foremost of Christian nations. We have upon record the thoughts with which he viewed it.

——"It is long since the realm of France," he said, "of old so glorious and so puissant, has commenced to fade in its splendour, but now it looks as if all its glory and all its beauty had forsaken it; for all law having been overthrown, and justice trampled under foot, there is nothing, however disgraceful, cruel, detestable, or intolerable, but may be perpetrated there with impunity; nay, such things, from a long continued licence, have at length acquired the sanction and force of custom. Amongst you, (he is writing to the archbishops and bishops of France) the royal authority having lost all its vigour, and there being no power capable of preventing injuries, or of chastising those who inflicted them, all who had enmities began to massacre each other with ever-increasing fury. Whoever had a quarrel or a wrong to avenge set openly to collect arms and troops, with as much circumstance as if all this were in conformity with the law of nations. If murders, conflagrations, with all the horrors attendant upon war, have been multiplied in your country by such usages, without a doubt we may be afflicted at it, but can we be surprised? Plunging headlong from bad to worse, now-a-days a new-fangled wickedness has seized them, like some infectious pestilence. Entering on this new career, and bursting

over every fence of law, divine and human, enormities the most detestable and horrible—incests, perjuries, sacrileges, treasons—have come to be regarded as nothing, and to be indulged in as of mere wantonness of malice, and without temptation; and what is unheard of in any other region of the earth, fellow-citizens, next door neighbours, and even close kinsmen and brothers, reciprocally capture and hold each other in durance, for the sake of ransom. The stronger tears from the weaker, (no matter how near to him by ties of blood or neighbourhood,) and even by cruel tortures, whatever he possesses, and leaves him to end his life in the extreme of misery. Pilgrims, whether on their way to the tombs of the Apostles or returning from them, are daily the victims of the petty tyrants who, often from a mere fantasy of caprice, lay violent hands on them, throw them into dungeons, submit them to tortures such as even the Pagans never invented: often wringing from them thus as ransom, more than the sufferers, of their own, possessed in the whole world.

"It is your King, or much more correctly speaking, your tyrant, who, at the instigation of the devil, is the origin and cause of all these calamities. He has soiled all his youth by crimes and by infamies. As weak as he is miserable, it is to no purpose the reins of government of the realm with which he is charged are in his hands. Not only does he abandon the people submitted to his care to every crime, by allowing all the bonds of subordination to

be destroyed; by the example of his own passions and foul misbehaviour, he incites them to such enormities as it is not lawful,—shall I say to commit? no, but so much as to mention. It was not enough for him to have merited the wrath of God by his pillaging the churches, by adulteries, by detestable violations, by perjuries, by frauds of every kind, with which we have so often had to reproach him; after the fashion of a brigand, he has recently attacked the merchants who were on their way from every part of the earth, to I know not what fair in France, and plundered them of enormous treasures.* Even in the fabulous stories about kings, there is nothing to be met with like this. He, who ought to be the supreme defender of the laws and of justice, has set the supreme example of trampling them under foot. But he has, by so doing, compassed this advantage — no longer is the renown of his infamies restricted within the bounds of his own ill-fated kingdom; they are now proclaimed throughout the whole world.

"As nothing of all this is to escape the animad-

* It is now impossible to form an adequate idea of the importance of those great fairs, of which Pope Gregory appears here as the protector. They were, in reality, an "Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations." "It was from such fairs," says the *Times*, in advocating his Royal Highness Prince Albert's noble project, "that arts and manufactures derived their chief support in ages when intercourse of nations was not such a daily and hourly affair as it now is."—*October* 18, 1849.

version of the Sovereign Judge, we conjure you to have a care that this malediction of the prophet fall not upon your heads: 'Accursed be he whose sword is not red with gore;' that is to say, (as you are right well aware,) who unsheathes not the Word of God to smite with reproof the excesses of carnal men. For it is you, our brothers, who are the culprits, not having had the firmness, which as bishops you ought to have had, to oppose these outrages, but rendering yourselves accomplices in them, by your connivance. On which account, we are not a little apprehensive that you are destined to receive, not the recompense of pastors, but the punishment of mercenaries,—you who, seeing the wolf tear the flock of the Lord in pieces under your eyes, take to flight, and go hide yourselves like dogs that know not how to bark. And be assured that, if you imagine it to be against the fealty you have promised to the King, to prevent him from perpetrating these misdeeds, you egregiously deceive yourselves; unless it be perhaps, that he is more the friend of a drowning man, who leaves him to perish, than he who saves him, even against his will.

"Equally vain is the excuse to say that you fear the anger of the prince; *for had you united all together in concert for the defence of justice, then should you have had sufficient weight of authority to turn the king from his evil courses;* at least your consciences would stand acquitted by the discharge of your duty. But such a proceeding must have

exposed you to great risk? Had certain death stared you in the face, it ought not to have stood in the way of the free and fearless discharge of your duty as bishops. For which reason, we entreat you, and we admonish you by apostolical authority, that you all assemble in some fitting place, to take measures to save your country, your honour, and your immortal souls from the jeopardy in which they are placed; and that after you shall have consulted together, you present yourselves in a body to the king,—to apprize him of the disorder and danger of his kingdom, to convince him to his face of the criminality of his actions, and to move him by your exhortations to repair the wrong which has been inflicted on the merchants; otherwise, as you are well aware, this will prove a source of great enmities and reprisals. Conjure him, moreover, to reform his life, to quit the irregularities of his youth, to re-establish justice, to lift up once more the prostrate glory of his country; in fine, to begin by reforming himself, the more effectually to reform others.

"But should he continue hardened, and refuse to listen to your counsels; if, neither by the fear of God, nor for the sake of his own glory, or of the salvation of his people, can he be moved; announce to him on our part, that he cannot much longer escape the sword of the Apostolic censure. Also, imitate the example of the Roman Church, your mother; withdraw altogether from the service and the communion of this prince, and interdict through-

out all France the public celebration of the Divine office. Should this censure fail to make him enter into himself, we wish it to be concealed from no one, that with the aid of God, we will strain every nerve to liberate the kingdom of France from his oppression. And if we see that you act feebly in this crying emergency, we shall no longer have a doubt that it is you who render him incorrigible, by the reliance he has in your compliance, and we will accordingly strip you of all episcopal functions, as participating in his guilt; for God is our witness, as is our own conscience, that without being moved to this determination either by petition or other consideration from any human being, we are riveted in it solely by vivid grief at beholding a kingdom so noble, and an innumerable people doomed to destruction, through the fault of one unfortunate mortal."*

When this voice pealed forth to arouse the greatest of nations from a condition worse than death, the once glorious France had ceased to be known in Christendom, except for its degeneracy and for the scandals with which we have heard it impeached; before their reverberations had yet subsided, ere the same century (then rapidly on the wane) had closed, France began to be itself again; and was marching under the oriflam of the Cross once more as the vanguard of the Christians. In Spain the

* L. 2. Epist. 5, date A. D. 1074. On the proclamation at Clermont of the first Crusade by Urban II., what resulted from this admonition will appear.

fire that was in his words reinkindled with tenfold energy, that valour which through ages of obscurity, through conflicts unnumbered renewed the battle of the Cross against the Crescent: driving it inch by inch through hard fought fields and through the most terrible vicissitudes of war, from the Pyrenees, until the ocean was interposed once more, between Catholic Spain and the Mahomedan invader. The mania of the chiefs of Languedoc, of Gascony and Aquitain for feudal war, like so many raging torrents of the mountains, he turned into one common channel, and let loose upon those infidel scourges of the south. Toledo was conquered in his day, and the heart of the Moorish tyranny for ever broken. Even Africa, that inheritance of Cham, 'the accursed,' was no stranger to the miracles effected by his genius, nor unblessed by the lasting memorials of his Apostolic wisdom and charity. Towards that darkest quarter of the earth, his eyes and his solicitude are next directed.

"The South."—We find a letter of his written the first year of his pontificate to the people of Carthage, exhorting them, by the passion and death of Jesus Christ, to support with patience, after his Divine example, what they have to suffer at the hands of the Saracens; but above all to banish from amongst them the divisions and animosities by which they were torn asunder. He reproaches them in terms expressive of the grief with which their cruel misconduct towards their venerable archbishop

Cyriacus, (on whom they had brought down the anger and outrageous cruelties of the infidels,) had torn his heart, and in the most moving language, exhorts them to do penance and make reparation for their crime,—under pain of the heaviest censures and the malediction of St. Peter. The archbishop, he consoles and encourages, in another letter of the same date,—lauding him for his firmness: that being brought before the angry king he had preferred to suffer insult and torments to the betrayal of his duty, in refusing to impose hands on one whom he judged unworthy of the sacred ministry. The Saracen King of eastern Mauritania felt so favourably disposed towards the Christians of a city in his kingdom called Hippo—not the Hippo of St. Augustine, but another—that to secure them the advantage of having a bishop, he sent a certain worthy priest named Servand to Rome, to be there approved of and consecrated by St. Gregory: to whom he sent most respectful letters to that effect, together with rich presents, and a number of Christians, whom in compliment to the Pontiff, he released from slavery. The following is Hildebrand's answer to the Saracen.

"Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Armasir, King of Mauritania, health and apostolic benediction. Your nobility has sent us letters this year to have us ordain the priest Servand, a bishop according to the Christian's institute: your request appearing to us just and excellent, with alacrity we have complied with it. Along with the

presents which accompanied your letters there came the Christians, whom, through respect for St. Peter the prince of the Apostles, and for love of us, you set at liberty, with a promise to extend the like mercy to other captives: a thought which has come from no other than that God who is the Creator of all things, and without whom we are not able to do or so much as to think anything that is good. He it was, who enlighteneth every man who cometh into this world, who irradiated your soul with that intention; for to the Almighty Allah who wishes that all men should be saved, and that none should perish, nothing is so pleasing as the love of man for his fellow man, and that he do not to another what he would not have done to himself. Between us two this reciprocal charity should more specially subsist, seeing that we both, though in a manner different, believe and confess one only God, and that each day we praise and adore the Creator of ages, and the Arbiter of the world; for as the Apostle saith, it is he who is our peace, and who of two hath made one.

"And many of our noble Romans having learned through us of this grace which God has favoured you with, have admired and celebrated your bounty and your virtue. Of their number are two, for whom we feel an especial friendship, Alberic and Cencius, who from their boyhood have been brought up with us in the Roman palace. Desirous to obtain your friendship and your love, to render themselves useful to you here in everyway possible they send to you

certain of their people to convince you of their high esteem for your prudence and magnanimity, and how gladly they would render you every service in their power. In recommending them to your magnificence, we pray you, for the love you bear us and in return for the fidelity of those who send them, to let them have proof of that charity which it is our desire that they, in their turn, may ever manifest towards you and all your people; for God is witness how purely we love you for God's sake, and how near to the wishes of our heart is your welfare, both in the present life and in the life to come."*

To the flock of the new archbishop of Hippo he also wrote, telling them that their prelate has been made conversant at Rome with Christian discipline, that it is their duty to receive him with affectionate devotion, and to obey him with a filial docility. The two archbishops he charges to select and send to Rome some one fit for the episcopal office, that being three bishops they may be able to consecrate others without coming to Rome, and thus more rapidly extend the Church.†

"The North."—Towards the native home of clouds, of darkness, and of storms, from whence, as from

* L. 3, Epist. 21. The Christian captives, of a certainty, were not the worse off for this epistle; nor is it unreasonable to suppose that great advantage to both the Saracen himself and his captives must have resulted from the presence of those envoys; introduced with so much sagacious tact and wisdom.

† Ib. Ep. 19, 20.

some ever-teeming, infinite, and mysterious womb, those monstrous generations—ruthless and irresistible—known under the general name of Barbarians, had been issuing century after century to upturn the ancient empires and kingdoms of the South, and erect new ones upon their ruins, the regards of Hildebrand (still ruminating on that high throne) are turned next; and, ere long, the whole sweep of that immense horizon from Erin, far, far away on the one hand in the then untraversed ocean, to Russia, losing its confines in the unknown recesses of the Arctic and Oriental regions on the other, begins to be lighted up by the splendour of his renown, and to be softened by the influence of his genius and his charity. By the most ferocious, his voice is listened to with respect and docility. He persuades the princes, instead of their internecine feuds against each other, to wage a common war on superstition; to establish the reign of justice instead of the tyranny of brute force. By attracting to Rome the noble youth of those then savage countries, and having them educated as he expresses it "under the wings of the Apostles," he was the means of founding those institutions to which they stand primarily indebted for the high degree of civilization—we cannot add of morality—of which they are now so naturally proud. From the East and the West they came, depositing their barbaric crowns and sceptres at his feet, petitioning (as in the instance of the heir apparent of all the Russias with approval of his royal

father Demetrius) to be made free of the Rome of the Pontiffs, and to be recognised as confederated in the empire of St. Peter.* We have a letter from St. Gregory to one of the Irish princes relative to a similar transaction.†

To the saintly King Canute, brother and successor of Harold, King of Denmark, who sent ambassadors to Rome, praying the Pontiff's counsel on various points, he writes—"With sincere charity we offer you our felicitations, beloved son, that placed at the extremities of the earth, you are zealous, nevertheless, in every way promoting the honour of the Christian religion; and that acknowledging yourself and the whole world to be bound to look up to the Roman Church as your mother, you claim her instructions and her counsels." St. Gregory then proceeds to comply with his royal disciple's request, instructing and exhorting him in language of such force, as he alone knew how to use.‡

In a letter to Olaf or Olaüs, King of Norway, he writes, A.D. 1078:—"Seated on the apostolic throne we are the more bound to take care of your spiritual welfare, that being at the extremity of the earth you

* Vid. L. 2. epist. 74, for St. Gregory's letter to the king of Russia and his queen, announcing his compliance with the petition of their son who had come as a pilgrim to the tombs of the Apostles. The date of the letter is 17th April, A.D. 1075.

† Vid. Ussher. in Sylloge.

‡ L. 7. epist. 5. date A.D. 1079. There are several other letters both previous and posterior to this date, to the Kings of Denmark.

have the less opportunity of being instructed and strengthened in the Christian religion. For which reason we are anxious, if possible, to send some of our brethren to you. But as this is very difficult, as well on account of the distance of the country as of the difference of languages, we pray you, (as already we have enjoined the King of Denmark,) to send to the apostolic court some of the young nobility of your country, that being instructed in the law of God, under the protection of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, they may be able to be the bearers to you of the orders of the Holy See, and to cultivate religion to the advantage of their country.*

There is a letter to the king of Sweden in the same spirit, in the body of which it is said: "They are not strange doctrines which the Church of Gaul has taught you; but such as she received them from the treasures of her mother, the holy Roman Church, she has communicated them to you with a holy erudition."† About the same time two kings of the Visigoths, being with their people converted from Paganism to the Christian religion, sent a bishop to Rome to apprize the chief of the universal Church of the fact. They received from St. Gregory a letter of felicitation, in which he prays God to confirm them in faith and good works. He then in a succinct form sets before them the principal duties of kings and people

* L. 6. epist. 13. † L. 8. ep. 11. date A.D. 1080.

under the Gospel; and recommends them to send some of their clergy and other persons to Rome, to be well grounded in discipline, so as to be able to instruct others on their return. Where lay the regions inhabited by these newly converted nations is no further known, than that they extended to the "extremities of the world," as the Pontiff expresses it in his letters.*

"The extremities of the world" are thus brought within the compass of his thoughts; but his was not that visionary sort of genius that stumbles at a clod or is swallowed in a quagmire, while lost in the contemplation of countless and immeasurably distant worlds. He looked at Europe and manipulated its embryo kingdoms, as if it were on his palm. While the project of marching to liberate the "Gran Sepolcro" at the head of fifty thousand knights, seems to absorb every energy of his mind, he is dictating to the petty lord of some place in Gaul, called Nouve Vic, his peremptory command no longer to usurp the endowed Church of Saint Sepulchre bequeathed to the Church of Jerusalem by certain pious souls in those parts, at the risk of having confirmed by his own apostolical authority, the sentence of excommunication, already pronounced in that cause by his legate. He is not so dazzled by seeing the suzerainté of the Russias pressed upon his acceptance, by the heir-apparent in person, and at his royal sire's direction, as to lose

* L. 9. ep. 14.

sight of the suzerainté of Sardinia, (from the reign of Constantine the Great, a dependency of the Holy See,) or of Hungary vested, as we have seen, in the Apostolic See by Saint Stephen. While on the one hand, the royal title bestowed by his predecessor on the dukes of Poland is taken away, to brand with greater infamy the crime of the assassin-king, Boleslas, (by his own people called the "CRUEL,") for having murdered St. Stanislas, bishop of Cracovia, with his own hand, not being able to find in his vast dominions one wicked enough to imbrue his hands in that holy martyr's blood; the crown and kingly title are, on the other hand, conferred on Demetrius, duke of Croatia, and on Michael, prince of the Slaves. Lanfranc, the primate of England, is reprehended for the somnolency of his zeal; Hugh de Die, legate in France, for his over impetuosity. The archbishop of Mayence is menaced with deprivation for meddling in the Church affairs of Bohemia; the archbishop of Rheims with the whole hierarchy of France is made to tremble for being a "dumb dog," when called by duty to strive and save his king and country, from infamy and ruin. In Spain, he causes the Roman liturgy to be established, and reprimands the Bohemians for asking to have the liturgy in their native jargon. In ranging over the wide world his ken overlooks no vantage ground, and with Hildebrand, execution followed conception, with the rapidity and force of lightning. He is as far from tolerating

the crimes of the people as those of their oppressors. Thus we find him denouncing the anathemas of the Church, and renewing the censures of his predecessors, against those who instead of rendering assistance to mariners shipwrecked along the coasts, were accustomed to plunder them. He commands all to succour those children of misfortune, and to respect their persons and property.

The most insignificant countries were as distinctly present as the greatest, to his mind's eye: the adjustment of the affairs of Sardinia and Corsica, he takes not less to heart, as his numerous letters testify, than if they were the destinies of France or Germany, that were at stake. It has been well observed that, "sublime as were the visions which thus thronged on the soul of Gregory VII., and which still shed a glowing light over his three hundred and fifty letters, life was never for a single day a state of mere visionary existence to him."

Bereft of those wonderful discoveries, which were reserved for the materialist enlightenment of modern ages, the benighted Hildebrand, a monk, the offspring of the "darkest" epoch of the Christian era, could imagine for the human race no higher or more important destiny, than so to comport and exert itself, as that the blood of Calvary should not have been shed for it, in vain. He had the bigotry to think, it was the will of that God who gave up

His only begotten Son to death with that intent, that the whole world should be Christian. That saying of the Redeemer—"What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his soul," had perhaps made a morbid impression on Hildebrand's overheated fancy. The fact was, however, that not believing the "Lord's Prayer" to be like one of Æsop's fables, he took it as the groundwork of his policy. He thought the propositions—"Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven," were not altogether destitute of meaning, or intended by their Divine Author for no other purpose but to be repeated like the lesson of a parrot, without having any serious meaning attached to them, or implying any obligation on the part of Christians, to labour that they should not continue to be but mere idle words. For Hildebrand's benighted or fantastic judgment, they summed up the intentions and the policy of the Incarnate Deity, with regard to that world which he had ransomed at a "great price." The successor, (not of his own choosing, but by something looking very like the work of Providence,) of that prince of the Apostles, to whom He who had thus ransomed the world confided the supreme dominion and administration of his "kingdom" in it (though not "of it"), that throned enthusiast had a thought,—as he looked out over the dread scene of ignorance, ferocious warfare, profanation, wrath, lust, blasphemy, and devil's-doing of every sort, that the task of Peter and his vicars

was no easy one, *viz.* to transform such an "earth" as that, into His "kingdom." Tribulation, sadness, "immense," was his emotion as he mused upon that scene. His heart was not "elated" or "lifted up." It was wrung with anguish and dismay; for he felt the most oppressive consciousness of his own unutterable incompetency to accomplish such a task. He had yielded to the violence of the unanimous will of the Roman Church in his election, when his censors and enemies had been left to expend their ingenuity and their prejudice in the scrutiny of his title: his ordination and consecration were carried on with punctilious observance of the pauses and canonical intervals, from stage to stage. The repugnance of Hildebrand, the "ambitious," did not end even here: it appears from his letter (our copy of his true portraiture), that it was only under one important stipulation he consented to reign.—"I have often prayed of Jesus, according to his grace, *either to take my life*, or render me useful to the Church, our common mother." Again, "when from that vast world of anarchy and crime, which I have been surveying and considering from east to west, from south to north, I turn to consider that universe which is within myself, so overwhelmed do I feel by the load of my sins, that I could not hope for pardon but through the infinite mercy of Jesus Christ; and if not encouraged by some ray of experience that, at one time or other, I may be useful to the Church, in Rome I would not

remain an hour." Nothing sustains him but the hope that Jesus Christ will assist him, that he will be by his side and stretch out the same hand that held Peter from sinking amid the billows, to sustain and succour him in the "thousand tempests by which I am crushed," the "myriad of agonies that invest me." It is for Christ, therefore, and for nought else but Christ,—it is that his "kingdom come," that his "will be done on earth," that Gregory VII. reigns; and he is not deterred from reigning, only because it is his hope, his immoveable conviction, that sustained he infallibly will be by the hand of Christ.

But, with these premises laid down: with this solid well-grounded faith in his position, listen to his own exposition to a friend, of the mood in which he has "put his hand to the plough," and the animus in which he meets, and battles with the storms that assail him.—"As for our position, regarding which you so pressingly invite us to inform you," thus writes the Pontiff, to William the Conqueror, A.D. 1074,—"it is this: much against our will we are at the helm of a ship in the midst of a raging sea. Through storms, through whirlpools, through billows that lash the clouds: over breakers, some manifest and others hidden, we steer right onward in the midst of perils, albeit without dismay. For the holy Roman Church over which we preside, without having either deserved it or wished it, is assailed incessantly and every day by a variety of trials: by the persecution of hypocrites, by the am-

buscades and sophistry of heretics: it is set upon by the powers of this world, by some openly, by others covertly, as if they would tear it asunder. To make head against all this and repair so many injuries inflicted, not to speak of a multitude of other things,—behold the enterprise in which, before God, we, (with the men who partake in our solicitude) are toiling night and day—a struggle in which we are hourly torn in pieces, although to the children of this world, we may appear to be engaged as if in some favourite pastime. But, thanks be to God, this world has no allurement which we do not scorn. Behold, how it fares with us at present: behold how, with God's grace, it shall continue to fare with us to the end."*

He kept his word. The powers of earth confederated with the powers of darkness were not able to deter him from his purpose. Triumph crowned his enterprise. With a candour which does them honour, it has been admitted by the foes of the Papacy, or at least by those who protest against it, that the results of Hildebrand's policy were—in the spiritual order, the liberty of the Church, the extinction of simony and of clerical concubinage: in the temporal order—the civilization of kings, the emancipation of peoples, and, in a word, under God, the salvation of the human race.†

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* L. 1. epist. 70. A.D. 1074.

† Vid. Essai sur L'Hist. du Christian, par. Ch. Coquerel, p.

What wonder that to the statesmen and philosophers of the modern, we will not say of the present, school, the character of that man should appear a mystery and an anomaly, who after humbling sceptered tyrants, vindicating oppressed nations, and causing the wronged throughout the world and the wrong doer—the one to look up with hope and rejoice, the other to quake with forebodings at the lightning stroke, at the thunders of his voice, can turn to humble himself before the abbot of Clugni, accusing himself as if he were the worst of sinners, and entreating to be prayed for by the lowly monks. Who can turn to devout communings with a virgin soul, ardently aspiring to the perfect love of God, from overwhelming the whole French nation, nobles, hierarchy, monarch, with the most destructive denunciation ever penned; and who, while wielding with perfect mastery, the dictatorship of both Church and State in Europe, and planning the reconquest of the East, finds time and fervour to bring him of a cold tempestuous Christmas night, to officiate in the holy mysteries, while but a few of the poor and the most devoted are with him there before the *præsepe*—the lowly cradle in which—according to a venerable tradition

75.—Ancillon. Tableau des Revolutions, &c. Intr. p. 133—137. Lettres sur L'Italie, par P. de Joux, p. 380.—Sismondi Hist. des Rep. &c. t. i. p. 130.—Jean. de Müller, Voyages des Papes, 1782.—Leibnitz. Revues. t. ii. p. 511.—Voight and Hurter, *passim.*

—the world's Redeemer had his birth? No wonder at all that to such wisdom as theirs, a being like this should be a riddle, for the Apostle has said: "The animal, worldly-minded man has no perception of the things which are of the Spirit of God; for it is foolishness to him, and he *cannot* understand." Hildebrand's heart was in his words: his soul with all its vehement and heaven-aided energies of wisdom, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, faith, hope, (and of that charity glowing in his writings, and tempering his feelings even in the infliction of the most tremendous chastisements,) was in his work. Hildebrand was in earnest, when he said, "THY KINGDOM COME!" His life is written in these three words. He had prayed his Saviour, and made as it were a compact with him, that unless he made it useful for that end, he would "take his life!" And resolved that all should be in earnest in this prayer, from his throne he summoned the whole world, princes as well as people, to be aiding and abetting his endeavours to put an end to "iniquity," and establish the universal and eternal reign of "justice;" with him as their chief and Pontiff, to strive that the will of God "be done on earth as it is in heaven." "Before his prophetic eye," we again qnote from the article on Hildebrand, "arose a vast theocratic state, in which political and religious society were to be harmonized. At the head of this all-embracing polity, the bishop of Rome was to assert (what was at that time UNIVERSALLY ADMITTED), his legi-

timate authority over all the kings and rulers of the earth. But woe on him who should impiously wield the Pontifical sceptre, in the name of Christ, in any spirit, or for any ends not in accordance with those awful purposes which once made Christ himself a sojourner among men! Heathen Rome had been raised up to conquer and to civilize. To Christian Rome was appointed a far loftier destiny. It was hers to mediate between hostile nations, to reconcile sovereigns and their people—to superintend the policy, restrain the ambition, redress the injustice, and punish the crimes of princes — to render the Apostolic throne the source and centre of an holy influence, which, diffused through every member of the social body, should inform, and animate, and amalgamate the whole, and realize the inspired delineation of that yet unborn age, when the lion and the lamb should lie down together, with a little child their leader."*

It is literally astounding how any one mind could grasp such a world within itself; be ready to grapple with every difficulty, no matter where, or how, or from whom it arose; to attend to every thing throughout the length and breadth of the then known world, not alone in the ecclesiastical, but in the secular order also; and to put his hand to nothing by halves, or with anything short of the

* Edin. Rev. ubi supr. p. 285.

perfect mastery of genius. The Emperor Henry III. had declared, on hearing him preach during his exile with Gregory VI., that never had he heard the Gospel announced and enforced with such conviction of power and authority. No matter what be the subject in hand,—whether the denunciation of an inglorious tyrant, the paternal expostulation with some sceptred prodigal, the vindication of the Church in her doctrines and her rights, the inculcation of piety and of the most efficacious means of advancing in spiritual perfection, a summons to the conflict, or a manifesto to reassure and console and lift up the fainting hopes and courage of the faithful in the darkest hours of adversity,—his letters will be recognized as wearing the stamp of a genius, as lucid and universal, as it is ever full of force. Whether he addresses himself to a recreant king, a pusillanimous bishop, or an abbot so engrossed with his order as to be apparently not sufficiently alive to the interests of 'our common mother,' or so weak as not to vindicate the immunities of his house,—whether writing in the privacy of friend with friend, or on that throne where the eyes of "men and angels" were upon him,—whether to priest or layman—to the penitent approaching him for advice and pardon, or to the foe with arm lifted to strike his tiara'd head, —whether to Christian or to Saracen,—the tact and the masterly skill in selecting and treating the topics, the intuitive knowledge of character displayed, are such as to provoke our wonder. *Nihil tetigit quod*

non ornavit. Every theme he touched is luminous with the impress of his master mind, imbued as it was, to its very essence, with the spirit of the Christian religion, and endued with an impetus of will proportioned to its intellectual capacity. His address, flexibility, and perseverance, in working out his plans, were not less consummate than the justice, comprehensiveness, and foresight with which he conceived and adjusted them beforehand in his mind. For self he cared nothing. Impervious to fear, or even to perturbation, in every emergency, no matter how sudden or how calculated to exasperate or terrify, he possessed his soul in patience. He was found equal to every crisis. With a consciousness of his own inferiority and worthlessness, if abandoned to himself, as profound as his faith in the power and willingness of his "poor Jesus" to sustain him as he had upheld St. Peter amidst the waves,—like that Prince of the Apostles, (in whose place he knew he stood,) he cast himself without reserve upon the eternal Rock, which is Christ; and inflamed with charity for His holy spouse the Church, there was nothing, "neither death nor life, things past, or present, or to come," that had any terrors for him; nothing that appeared difficult, when the honour of the Christ and the interests of His kingdom were at stake. Never before or since had Europe stood in such direful need of a dictatorship as in the age of Hildebrand, and never had the world such reason to be grateful to an autocrat as to him. The heroes and patriots

who were hailed in the Agora or the Forum, in ancient times, as the saviours of the commonwealths, as they *mis*called them, of Athens and of Rome—into what utter insignificance do they not sink when put standing beside this colossus of a dictator, who "merited well," not of a bloodthirsty ascendancy, but of trampled-on humanity: who was the saviour, under heaven, not of a city, but of the Christian world! "But for the Popes," says the Protestant historian of Switzerland, Jean de Muller, "Rome had long since ceased to exist. Gregory VII., Alexander III. and Innocent III., (both eminently of Hildebrand type,) opposed a dyke to the torrent which menaced all the earth. Their paternal hands lifted up the hierarchy from its fallen state, and along with it the liberty of all the Christian states."* In the article on "Hildebrand" from which we quote so largely, it is "acknowledged" that the policy of Hildebrand was "conducive, perhaps essential, to the progress of Christianity and civilization," and that "its abandonment would have plunged the Church and the world into the same hopeless slavery." Leibnitz, the greatest mind of which Protestantism can boast, has said, that were the Papacy reinvested with the power that was wielded by it in the days of Nicholas I. or of Gregory VII. it would be the means of ensuring a perpetual peace, and of realizing in a great degree the fiction of a golden age.†

* Voyages des Papes, 1782. † Pensées, t. 2. p. 410.

Wherever he sees a potentate of Christian dispositions, as in the instance of Hugh of Burgundy or of the 'Great Countess,' he denounces the idea, for such an one, of seeking after cloistral perfection, as an act of recreancy: as a desertion of the post of duty, of honour, and of highest merit, (because of greatest peril and self-sacrifice,) in the active service and in the kingdom of the Crucified.

In his enterprise to free the Church of Christ from the tyranny that oppressed, the scandals that profaned it: to make the reign of "justice" prevail over the despotism of iniquity,—the good, the pure, the noble-hearted, wherever they were to be found and of whatever age or sex or station, he regarded as his allies, he cherished and loved with an especial charity. He mourned over their loss: he resented the interference, or even the permissive agency which helped to take them from their allotted post in the service of "our common mother," even when they pressed forward to a higher state of perfection and closer intercourse with God, as if it were aimed at depriving him of one of his own members. "Why, my dear brother," he writes to St. Hugh, the abbot of Clugni, who had received as a monk into the cloister the Duke of Burgundy, one of the most potent as he was one of the most zealous Christian princes of his times, "why, before yielding to his entreaties, did you not bear in mind (as we had warned you), how great is the peril and the

desolation in which the Church is placed? Where are those who are ready to expose themselves to danger for the love of Jesus Christ, who fearlessly resist the impious, and in defence of justice expose themselves to death? The shepherd and the dogs charged with the care of the flock take to flight, and leave those for whom Jesus Christ died at the mercy of wolves and robbers. Have you not great cause to reproach yourself? You have taken from his place and received at Clugni the Duke of Burgundy, and by so doing, you have left destitute of a guardian a hundred thousand Christians. If our remonstrances were without effect, and that the orders of the holy see were not to be regarded, ought not the groans of the poor, the tears of the widow, the cries of the orphan, the desolation of the churches, the murmurs of the clergy and the monks, to have terrified you from your purpose?

"What causes us to speak after this sort is, that hardly is there a good prince to be found now-a-days. Through the Divine mercy there are good monks and good priests in abundance; many God-fearing warriors are also to be met with; but in all the West, scarcely will you find a few good princes fearing and loving the Lord with all their heart.

"I will upbraid you no further, because I hope through the mercy of God, that the charity of Jesus Christ which habitually dwells in you will transpierce your heart and be my avenger, by causing

you to feel what my grief ought to be, at seeing his mother, the Church, deprived of the services of a good prince."*

This view it was, as solid as it is sublime, of the right vested in the Church of Christ, (especially in such a crisis of peril as at that time it was placed in,) that all particularly gifted and capable of such service shall stand firm in the post of danger, and that none, at least of the mighty ones, shall withdraw from the pressure of the battle, even for the higher and more intimate communion of the spirit with its Creator, that had prompted Hildebrand so vehemently to oppose the retirement to his solitude in Umbria of St. Peter Damian, (whom he regarded, and justly, as the right arm of the Apostolic See in its conflicts,) that the latter, though in a playful witty vein, is still heard to complain of his severity. Knowing that it was his friend who had suggested to the Pontiff Alexander II. or perhaps actually penned the letter of the Pontiff to reprove his intention of retiring into solitude, and to dissuade or deter him from it, he entreats, in his reply to the Pope's letter, that his "holy Satan," the rigid adversary of his design, may be dissuaded from menacing him so sternly: that the scourge which his "venerated haughtiness" knows how to wield with such direful force, be laid on so as not altogether to crush him to the earth, especially in consideration of the stripes he has had

* L. 6. Ep. 17.

already. "For," continues St. Peter, in the same playful, figurative vein, "my shoulders, livid from such a discipline as he only can administer, begin to fail: so deeply has the lash sunk into my poor back, I can no longer bear it. In short, holy Father, my course is run, and I withdraw." He then compares himself to the traveller in the fable, for whose cloak the sun and the north wind contended, in allusion to the blending of mildness and rigour in the letter, which he treats as the joint production of Alexander and of his all-powerful minister.* That most sublime and spotless heroine of her own or of any other age, the Judith of the 11th century, the

* Petr. Dam. L. 1. Epist. 16. The following words of St. Peter Damian himself, in the Prologue to his Life of St. Romuald, are decisive as a justification of Hildebrand in resisting to the utmost, a step which was to deprive the Church, in the hour of her utmost need, of the most pure-minded, devoted, and accomplished of her champions.

"Adversum te prorsus, *immunde* munde," writes the Saint, "conquerimur, quia habes intolerabilem stultorum sapientium turbam, tibi facundam, Deo mutam. Habes qui per vanam eloquentiam, et inanam philosophiam, se sciunt in superbiæ cornibus arroganter extollere: non habes, qui profuturum aliquid ædificationi proximorum, ad posterorum velit memoriam schedulis adnotare. Habes, inquam, qui in prætoriis judicum, negotiorum sæcularium lites et causarum jurgia continuis valeant declamationibus perorare: NON AUTEM HABES, QUI POSSIT IN SANCTA ECCLESIA VEL UNIUS SANCTORUM VIRTUTES ET CLARA GESTA DESCRIBERE."—*Vid.* Acta SS. vii. Feb ii. p. 104. Perhaps this *argumentum ad hominem*, this *ex ore tuo*, quoted against him, was one of those heavy strokes from which St. Peter complained that his shoulders felt so sore.

'Great Countess' Matilda, he prevented from consecrating herself, by vow, and in the cloister, to the Almighty; through what motive we learn from the following passage of a letter, which he writes to her in A. D. 1074.

"The care and the continual solicitude which I feel for your spiritual welfare, is fully comprehended only by Him who searcheth the hidden recesses of the heart, and who knoweth me better than I know myself; but if you will reflect, I am persuaded you will feel convinced that my anxiety for your salvation is the more intense, as I, at the dictation of charity, have prevented you from abandoning the multitude who were dependent on you, that in holy solitude you might look solely to your own salvation; for as I have often asserted, and shall never cease to assert, true charity seeks not its own interests. Be not afraid! With the aid of God, and by using well those arms with which I provided you, and which chiefly consist in frequently receiving the body of the Lord, and reposing an assured and childlike confidence in His blessed Mother, you will be more than a match for the prince of darkness."*

Simon, Count of Crêpi, who was also lord of Valois, of Mante, and Bar-sur-Aube, though his alliance was courted by William the Conqueror for

* L. 1. Epist. 47. This letter, which is an exquisite treatise on Christian perfection, must satisfy any one who reads it, that the emotions of a piety, as tender as it was pure and exalted, were habitual in the soul of Hildebrand.

his daughter the princess Adela, like the Duke of Burgundy, gave up all the glory and allurements of the world in the very bloom of life; but from his cell he was summoned by St. Gregory to Rome, and obliged again to throw himself into the thick of the conflict,—the Pope making use of him to manage the reconciliation of Robert Guiscard with the Holy See; and retaining him, despite of his longing after the cloister, until he was summoned to the recompense of his seraphic virtues.* In a word, conscious as he was that the fate of Christ's kingdom was in the balance: that he himself had been withheld from that cloistral perfection for which he sighed, solely by the hope of being of some use in the struggle: knowing that all regenerated of water and the Holy Ghost are enrolled under the standard of the cross, he held it to be his prerogative, as supreme commander of this warfare, to call, as one might say, for a *levé en masse*, and to exempt no one from the field or from the breach, who could help to turn the tide in favour of the cause of "justice," liberty, and civilization, which were all equally at stake.

It is to contravene what is patent on the face of the *real* history of Hildebrand, to state, as has been so often done, that from the outset he had made up his mind to provoke a collision with Henry IV.

* Acta 55. 30 Sept. Act. Bened. sec. 6. p. 370.

His foresight—it is highly probable, convinced him it would come to that. But as for wishing it,—nothing could be more completely the reverse of this, than the most sincere desire and cherished project of his mind. "While still only a deacon," he says in a letter to the bishops, dukes, counts, and other grandees of the Teutonic kingdom, "having been informed of the shameful conduct of the king, and desirous of his correction, we repeatedly by letters and by the envoys of the Holy See, entreated him to be more mindful of what was due to his rank and his lineage; but being arrived at the Pontificate and seeing his iniquity increase with his years, we have exhausted every means,—reproaches, prayers, exhortations, to bring him back into the right path; FOR WE THOUGHT THAT GOD WOULD ONE DAY DEMAND FROM US AN ACCOUNT OF HIS SOUL.* But the King, ever ready with the most humble promises of amendment, evinced by his actions that he made them only to trample them under his feet."† Here is a letter under Henry's own hand which ought to satisfy the most prejudiced whether or not this statement is most rigorously true. It is addressed, "To the right vigilant and well-beloved lord, Pope Gregory, invested by heaven with Apostolic dignity:

* If to Peter the charge was really given, "feed my lambs and feed my sheep," as "vicar of St. Peter," what else could the Pontiff think?

† L. 3. Epist. 6.

Henry, by the grace of God, King of the Romans, exhibition right loyal of the service which is due." Having regretted that he has failed in respect for the ecclesiastical order, and in the duties of a just sovereign and guardian of the laws, he adds: "but now, not a little touched with compunction through the Divine mercy, and entering into ourselves, we are the first to be our own accusers and to confess our sins to your most indulgent paternity, having faith in the Lord, that being absolved by your apostolical authority, we may obtain forgiveness. Alas, criminal and wretched that we are!—partly through impetus of youth, partly through the licence of our royalty, partly by the seduction of those to whose wicked counsels we have lent but a too willing ear, we have sinned against heaven and before thee, and are no longer worthy to be called your son. For not only have we invaded what belonged to the churches, but also the churches themselves; instead of defending them, as was our bounden duty to do, we have sold them to the unworthy: to men infected with simony, who have entered otherwise than by the door." He then refers to the particular case of Milan. He had sold the reversion of that see to Godefroy de Castillon while Guido the archbishop was still living: he now implores St. Gregory to interpose his apostolical authority to remedy the mischief, and thus concludes: "the Almighty aiding us, never again shall we be wanting in duty towards you, and we entreat

your paternity to aid us in all things with clemency."*

We happen also to have Hildebrand's reply: let us see if it breathe that ferocity and harshness so flippantly set down as his most striking characteristics, or evince the resolve attributed to him, to force a quarrel on Henry. After some introductory observations the letter thus continues: "We have also derived great joy from what the Countess Beatrice and her daughter Matilda have written to us of the sincerity of your friendship: and it is by their advice, and at the instance of the empress, your mother, that we write you this letter. Know also, that unworthy as we are, we have you in memory when celebrating mass over the tombs of the Apostles, praying God with intensity of fervour, that he grant you grace and power to carry out those good designs, and to form others still more glorious, for the advantage of his Church.† But, most excellent son, I exhort you with a sincere charity, to take for counsellors in these things, men who love yourself rather than your favours: who seek your salvation and your

* L. 1. post. Epist. 29. ap. Rohr. L. 65, p. 250.

† This is probably in allusion to the project of the Crusade, put to Henry in another letter, already quoted, with as much force as delicacy—for Hildebrand saw that, with all his faults, there was in this ill-fated prince, the making, perhaps, of another Charlemagne. But Henry listened not to Hildebrand cheering him to greatness and real glory, but to the depraved and case-hardened profligates, who hurried him onward to infamy and destruction.

honour rather than their own profit. By listening to such men in the cause of God, you will secure his protection and favour. As for the affair of Milan: although as yet, you have not arranged it as you promised in your letters, let us conjointly select religious prudent men and send them to make an investigation: if they make it appear, by sound argument and good authorities, that the decree of the Roman Church, confirmed by the judgment of two Councils, can and ought to be changed, we shall without hesitation, acquiesce in their just representations, and adopt the better course. But should that be demonstrated impossible, I will pray and supplicate your highness, for the love of God and through respect for St. Peter, to restore its rights to that Church. Consider that if you render your royalty subservient to the King of kings, the Christ, for the restoration and defence of the churches,—you shall then indeed legitimately possess it. Meditate with fear these words: 'I love those who love me: those I honour who honour me; but those who contemn me shall be without glory.'"*

The counsel here given would have been wise and glorious for Henry to follow. It was tantamount to a recommendation to take the greatest of his predecessors—Charlemagne, for his pattern. Its adoption would have saved Germany and Italy a forty years' war; it would have saved

* L. 2. Epist. 30.

his own name from the infamy with which it has been justly branded by the most dispassionate of his contemporaries. Instead of having gone as near as it was possible to ruining Christendom and consolidating for ever a "despotism the most galling, the most debasing and irremediable under which Europe had ever groaned,"—by acting in harmony with Hildebrand in the age of the first Crusade, there is absolutely nothing conceivable for the exalting and extending the kingdom of Christ and the consequent aggrandisement of himself and his country, that that same Henry, who descended from a most wretched outcast condition into a dishonoured grave, might not have accomplished. But, in an evil hour for himself and for humanity, his ear, ever obstinately closed to such advice, was ever open for the leprous instilments of the selfish and thrice guilty flatterers by whom he was incessantly surrounded. These were they who clung with all the desperation of inveterate and long pampered habit to the guilty profanations which this censor, more stern and inexorable than Cato, was determined should find some other Arcadia in which to disport and indulge themselves, besides the sanctuary and the priesthood anointed and consecrated to the Divine Son of the Virgin Mother. By these was Henry surrounded: to them he lent no unwilling ear; for of a character so unnatural and mad were his own excesses, that to state them, (as they are found recorded against him in the unimpeachable public records of that day, and under the

hand of his own partizans,) would be, as has been well remarked, to outrage the first principles of decorum. Suffice it to say, they were such as to cause his mother to grieve that she ever had a son, his queen that she ever had a husband, his son that he had a father; and that instincts, not only consecrated in the esteem of Christians, but which are sanctified by nature and held inviolable by honour, were outraged by Henry IV. in such a manner as to make humanity shudder.* According to them the reforming Pope was a pestilence: the arch-disturber of the world: and truly so he was,—like a purifying hurricane. Things were stagnating, turning fetid: he lashed them into a raging conflict—good against evil, and this brought on a general and most salutary purification. They called Hildebrand a magician, an impostor, a heretic, a murderer, a débauchée. "A king, they cried, (still further to inflame the pride of Henry and to drive him to such outrageous acts as might preclude all possibility of accommodation between him and the Pope—the very issue they had most of all to dread, knowing well it would be for them the signal of that reformation which they abhorred and feared)—a king, and the son of an emperor, they cried, who, according to the Apostle, bears not in vain the sword: who is the protector, the patrician, and the defender of Rome, ought not to suffer the Church of God to be thus

* *Vid.* Berthold. apud Rohrb. L. 66. pp. 522, 523, and Voight, *passim.*

torn in pieces, or permit the most inexorable and perverse of men, who for his criminal excesses deserves the extreme of chastisement, and to be cut off from the Church, to thus profane the supreme and regal majesty."*

The upshot was that Henry, thus fiercely driven in the same direction in which he was borne already by the torrent of his own passions, was actively plotting the capture, and that failing, the murder of the Pontiff, while such letters as we have just seen were passing between them.†

* Hug. Flav. ap. Rohrb. L. 65, 364.

† At once to ease the mind of the reader as to the credibility of the narrative, and relieve the dulness of our own by the substitution of a style the most lively and fascinating, we shall leave it to a writer, whose hostility to Hildebrand there is unfortunately no mistaking, to depict the varied and stirring scenes of that great struggle which imparts such an epic interest to the Pontificate of Gregory VII. An additional importance will attach to the article on "Hildebrand," from which we are about to extract the narrative, as well in the minds of our readers, we dare say, as in our own, when the fact is stated, that it has been adopted by Sir James Stephen, and published, we have heard, amongst the Right Honourable Baronet's other acknowledged writings.

CHAPTER II.

"On Christmas-eve, in the year 1075, the city of Rome was visited by a dreadful tempest. Not even the full moon of Italy could penetrate the dense mass of superincumbent clouds. Darkness brooded over the land, and the trembling spectators believed that the day of final judgment was about to dawn. In this war of the elements, however, two processions were seen advancing to the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore. At the head of one was the aged Hildebrand, conducting a few priests to worship at the shrine of the Virgo Deipara. The other was preceded by Cencius, a Roman noble. His followers were armed as for some desperate enterprise. At each pause in the roar of the tempest might be heard the hallelujahs of the worshippers, or the voice of the Pontiff pouring out benedictions on the little flock which knelt before him—when the arm of Cencius grasped his person, and the sword of some yet more daring ruffian inflicted a wound on his forehead."

It is expressly stated that Cencius intended to murder St. Gregory, if prevented from carrying him off. The deluge of rain and the tempest by which the Romans were kept at home are said to

have been sent by Providence, that "such a sanctuary as the Præsepe might not be stained by the life-blood of such a pastor," which would have happened had the faithful been there to resist the carrying off of the Pontiff; and it is added, that horses were held in readiness for Cencius and each of his myrmidons to ensure escape: whether the enterprise was to end in "victory by slaying St. Gregory, or in triumph by carrying him away captive." Again, instead of the "two processions,"—the way the occurrence takes place in the original life is this:—St. Gregory having celebrated the "first" of the three masses, it was then, as it still is, customary for each priest to celebrate on the festival of our Lord's nativity, (and on which, by the way, the Hallelujah is never chanted), had himself received the Divine communion, had administered it to the assisting clergy, and was, with their assistance in the act of distributing that most divine of sacraments to those few fervent worshippers, whom neither inundation of rain nor tempest had kept from visiting on that hallowed night, the most touching memorial of their merciful Saviour's nativity; it is at the moment when that canticle of angels to the shepherds who "were watching and keeping the night guard over their sheep," was audibly reverberating through their glowing and chastened souls, "peace and good will to men," that the ruffian shouts of the assassin-in-chief and his followers are heard, as rushing into the basilica with drawn swords they cut their way to the sanctuary,

the gates of which they force open,—striking all and wounding many, in their indiscriminating fury and haste. The sword-stroke that fell on the brow of St. Gregory as he sat serenely on his throne, is said to have been aimed at his life. Lambert of Aschaffenburg says, that after they had torn off his vestments, the Pontiff was "dragged by the hair of the head from the church by Cencius's own hand."*

"Bound with cords, stripped of his sacred vestments, beaten, and subjected to the basest indignities, the venerable minister of Christ was carried to a fortified mansion within the walls of the city, again to be removed at daybreak to exile or to death. Women were there with women's sympathy and kindly offices, but they were rudely put aside, and a drawn sword was already aimed at the Pontiff's bosom, when the cries of a fierce multitude threatening to burn or batter down the house, arrested the arm of the assassin. An arrow, discharged from below, reached, and slew him. The

* Thus, though the resemblance is visible between the original narrative and the copy, the lights and shadows of the latter are so managed, that the general effect is changed. The darker colouring of the original which is taken from the actions of Henry and his accomplices is transferred to the actions and motives of the Pope. "Hinc ille (Cencius) ipsa nocte Natalis Domini cum armatis inopinato irruit in ecclesiam, in qua Papa vestimentis pontificalibus indutus sacro altari astabat, missarum solemnia celebrans, INJECTAQUE (quod dictu quoque nefas est) IN CAPILLOS EJUS MANU, multis contumeliis affectum, DE ECCLESIA PROTRAXIT."

Lambert. Scafnab. an. 1076. *Ap. Baron. ad an.* 1075. *p.* 35.

walls rocked beneath the strokes of the maddened populace, and Cencius, falling at the prisoner's feet, became himself a suppliant for pardon and life.

"In profound silence and undisturbed serenity, Hildebrand had thus far submitted to these atrocious indignities. The occasional raising of his eyes towards heaven alone indicated his consciousness of them. But to the supplication of his prostrate enemy he returned an instant and a calm assurance of forgiveness; he rescued Cencius from the exasperated besiegers, dismissed him in safety and in peace, and returned amidst the acclamations of the whole Roman people, to complete the interrupted solemnities of Santa Maria Maggiore.

"That Henry instigated this crime is a charge of which no proof is extant, and to which all probabilities are opposed."

And yet we are told by Paul Bernried, who lived and wrote his account of them at the time of these transactions, that Cencius, before embarking in the enterprise, sent messengers to assure the king that Hildebrand should be brought a captive to his feet. When defeated in his attempt, it was to the Court of Henry that Cencius retreated. That Cencius and Guibert of Ravenna went hand in hand in this transaction, is confessed; and that Guibert was in the bosom intimacy of Henry, by whom he was soon after this set up as anti-pope, is a thing notorious. As to "all probabilities being opposed" to the idea that Henry would be a party to capturing

Hildebrand, the position is strangely at variance with the fact, that, after the scenes at Canossa, and in flagrant violation of his own solemn pledges confirmed by oath, he laid an ambuscade for St. Gregory, and had brought him, through a tissue of falsehood and duplicity, (in all the resources of which King Henry IV. had no equal,) to the very brink of the precipice, when the Countess Matilda discovered the treason, just a moment before it would have been too late to defeat it. Donnizone, who was an eye-witness, says, "Insidiæ fractæ regis sunt, et *patefactæ.*"*

What else did Henry aim at by the three years' siege of Rome and of St. Angelo, but to lay hands on the Pontiff, whom he hated, persecuting him by the blackest treachery as well as by the most outrageous hostilities, while St. Gregory, as we shall see, returned him only good for evil.

"To the charges of sacrilege, impurity, and assassination, (no where) preferred against the Emperor (by the Pontiff), his (Henry's) partisans answered by denouncing the Pope himself, at a Synod convened at Worms, as base-born, and as guilty of murder, simony, necromancy and devil-worship, of habitual, though concealed, profligacy, and of an impious profanation of the eucharist.

* In Vit. Mathild.

Fortunately for the fame of Gregory, his enemies have written a book. Cardinal Benno, one of the most inveterate, has bequeathed to us a compendium of all those synodal invectives. The guilt of a base birth is established; for Hildebrand's father was a carpenter in the little Tuscan town of Saone. The other imputations are refuted by the evident malignity of the writer, and by the utter failure, or the wild extravagance of his proofs.

"Such, however, was not the judgment of the Synod of Worms. A debate, of two days' continuance, closed with an unanimous vote that Gregory VII. should be abjured and deposed, Henry first affixed his signature to the form of abjuration. Then each archbishop, bishop, and abbot, (all attainted of simony, &c.), rising in his turn, subscribed the same fatal scroll. Scarcely was the assembly dissolved, before imperial messengers were on their way to secure the concurrence of other Churches, and the support of the temporal princes. On every side, but especially in Northern Italy, a fierce and sudden flame attested the long smouldering resentment of the priests whom the Pope had divorced from their wives; of the lords whose simoniacal traffic he had arrested; of the princes whose Norman invaders he had cherished; of ecclesiastics whom his haughty demeanour had incensed; of the licentious whom his discipline had revolted; and of the patriotic whom his ambition had alarmed. The abjuration of Worms, was adopted with enthu-

siasm by another Synod at Placenza, a thing to be expected on account of the predicament in which the prelacy and nobility of Lombardy were involved at that juncture. Oaths of awful significance cemented the confederacy. Acts of desperate hostility bore witness to their determination to urge the quarrel to extremities. Not a day was to be lost in intimating to Gregory that the Apostolic sceptre had fallen from his hands, and that the Christian Church was once more free." (That is that the reign of simony, &c. was secured.)

"It was now the second week in Lent, in the year 1076. From his throne, beneath the sculptured roof of the Vatican, Gregory, arrayed in the rich mantle, the pall, and the other mystic vestments of pontifical dominion, looked down the far-receding aisle of the sacred edifice on the long array of ecclesiastical lords and princes, before whom Henry, king of Germany and Italy, calling himself emperor,* had been summoned to appear, not as their sovereign to receive their homage, but as a culprit to await their sentence. As he gazed on that new senate, asserting a jurisdiction so majestic—and listened to harmonies which might not unfitly have accompanied the worship of Eden—and joined in anthems which in far distant ages had been sung by blessed saints in their dark crypts, and by

* Henry himself avowed, as did the whole Christian world at that time, that emperor he could not be, without approval and consecration from the Pope.

triumphant martyrs in their dying agonies—and inhaled the incense symbolical of the prayers offered by the Catholic Church to her eternal head—what wonder if, under the intoxicating influences of such a scene and of such an hour, the old man believed that he was himself the Apostolic rock on which her foundations were laid, and that his cause and person were sacred as the will, and invincible as the power of heaven itself.* The 'Veni Creator' was on the lips of the Papal choir, when Roland, an envoy from the Synods of Worms and Placenza, presented himself before the assembled hierarchy of Rome. His demeanour was fierce, and his speech abrupt. 'The King and the united bishops both of Germany and Italy,' (such was his apostrophe to the Pope), 'transmit to thee this command: Descend without delay from the throne of St. Peter. Abandon the usurped government of the Roman Church. To such honours none must aspire without the general choice and the sanction of the Emperor.' Then addressing the conclave,—'To you, brethren,' he said, 'it is commanded, that at the feast of Pentecost ye present yourselves before the King my master, to receive a Pope and father from his hands. This pretended pastor is a ravenous

* As he appears in the original, there is not the slightest sign of intoxication about Hildebrand. His self-possession and serenity are not less striking now, on the throne of the Lateran, than when he was in the hands of Henry's emissary Cencius, on Christmas night.

wolf.' A brief pause of mute astonishment gave way to shouts of fury. Swords were drawn, and the audacious herald was about to expiate his temerity with his blood. But Gregory descended from his throne, received from the hands of Roland the letters of the Synods, and resuming his seat, read them in a clear and deliberate voice to the indignant council."

It is not usual for the Pope to descend from his throne merely to save an envoy or an assistant the trouble of performing his proper office. On the present occasion, St. Gregory stepped down from his throne for a purpose much more glorious and appropriate than that assigned above, namely, for the purpose of shielding with his own body the life of the audacious recreant, which but for this merciful interposition, would have been forfeited on the instant.*

"Again the sacred edifice rang with a tempest of passionate invective. Again swords were drawn on Roland, and again the storm was composed by the voice of the Pontiff. He spoke of prophecies fulfilled in the contumacy of the King, and in the troubles of the faithful. He assured them, that victory would reward their zeal, or Divine consolations soothe their defeat; but whether victory or defeat should be their doom, the time, he said, had come when the avenging sword must be drawn to smite the enemy of God and of his Church."

* Vid. Paul. Bernried. n. 71. 72. ap. Rohrb. L. 63. p. 290.

Surely after forgiving the attempt of Cencius, and the outrage just described, there was no alternative between the course adopted by the Pope and that of abandoning the cause of the Church and of human liberty, through dread of an angry and profligate tyrant. Reclamations loud and deep were already heard from every quarter of Christendom; but more especially from those nations which were cursed by the immediate sway of Henry, at the lenity and apparent partiality with which St. Gregory treated him.

"Reason and moderation," said those upright, simple-hearted men, the Saxon envoys to the Pope, "preside no longer over the government. Avarice, pride, cruelty, are the inseparable companions of the King. The Church in its distress implores for succour. Many have risen into the first rank of favour and honour with the King by pillage and murder; but insupportable beyond all other calamities is the slavery to which he has reduced us. He thinks of nothing but his hunting revels, and a debauchery the most shameful. The nature and number of his excesses cannot be told. Dissolute priests, women of prostitute life, youthful libertines compose his cabinet. With them he takes counsel, more especially in Church matters, and in the nominations to bishoprics and abbeys. He offers sacrifices to Venus, celebrates festivals in her honour, and leads a life so dissolute that it is not to be described. Such a king is unworthy to reign. The empire is a fief of

of the Roman see." They then call on the Pope to see these enormities redressed, and to place the crown on a head more worthy to wear it.*

Even after this appeal, the Pontiff, who is represented by a certain school of writers as the arch-disturber of the world in his day:—deserving rather the name of Firebrand than that one of nearly similar sound in which he was baptized, restricted himself to expostulations, which met from Henry the reply which was drawn up at Worms, and presented in the face of the Great Parliament of the Church by Roland, the excommunicate and incontinent priest.

"When Henry had procured and promulgated the sentence of the Synod of Worms for the deposition of Gregory, (we still quote the same brilliant narrative) heedless, or rather unconscious, of the resources of that formidable adversary, he had made no preparation for the inevitable contest; but, as if smitten by a judicial blindness, selected that critical moment for a new outrage upon the most sacred feelings of his own subjects. He marched into Saxony; and there, as if in scorn of the free German spirit, erected a stern military despotism, confiscated the estates of the people, exiled their nobles, imprisoned their bishops, sold the peasants as slaves, or compelled them to labour in erecting fortresses, from which his mercenary troops might curb and ravage the surrounding country. The cry of the oppressed rose on every side from

* Auct. Vit. Henr. Aventen.

the unhappy land. It entered into the ears of the Avenger.*

"As Henry returned from this disastrous triumph to Utrecht, the imperial banner floated over a vast assemblage of courtiers, churchmen, vassals, ministers of justice, men-at-arms, and suttlers, who lay encamped like some nomad tribe round their chief, when the indignant bearing of some of his followers, and the alarmed and half-averted gaze of others, disclosed to him the awful fact that a pontifical anathema had cast him down from his imperial state, and exiled him from the society of all Christian people. His heart fainted within him at these dismal tidings as at the sound of his own passing bell. But that heart was kingly still, and resolute either to dare or to endure, in defence of his hereditary crown. Shame and sorrow might track him to the grave, but he would hold no council with despair. The world had rejected him—the Church had cast him out—his very mother deserted him. In popular belief, perhaps in his own, God himself had abandoned him. Yet all was not lost. He retained, at least, the hope of vengeance. On his hated adversary he might yet retaliate blow for blow, and malediction for malediction." (Pope Gregory never hated Henry. He was ever solicitous for his good,

* Is it worth while to offer violence to history for the sake of a tyrant of such a stamp? Is it consistent for the champion of constitutional liberty to do so?

for his honour, and for his real interests as a monarch.)

"On Easter-day, in the year 1076, surrounded by a small and anxious circle of prelates, William archbishop of Utrecht, ascended his archiepiscopal throne, and recited the sacred narrative which commemorates the rising of the Redeemer from the grave. But no strain of exulting gratitude followed. A fierce invective depicted, in the darkest colours, the character and the career of Hildebrand, and with bitter scorn the preacher denied the right of such a Pope to censure the emperor of the West, to govern the Church, or live in her communion. In the name of the assembled Synod, he then pronounced him excommunicate.*

"At that moment the summons of death reached the author of this daring defiance. While the last fatal struggle convulsed his body, a yet sorer agony affected his soul. He died self-abhorred, rejecting the sympathy, the prayers, and the sacraments with which the terrified bystanders would have soothed his departing spirit. The voice of heaven itself seemed to rise in wild concert with the cry of his tortured conscience. Thunderbolts struck down both the Church in which he had abjured the Vicar of Christ, and the adjacent palace in which the emperor was residing. Three other of the anti-

* Why we have preferred to leave this narrative to another, though he is not impartial, will be plainer to the reader after he has perused the following passage. Henry presided at this scene.

papal prelates quickly followed William to the grave, by strange and violent deaths. Godfrey of Lorraine fell by the hand of an assassin. Universal horror was awakened by such accumulated portents. Each day announced to Henry some new secession. His guards deserted his standard; his personal attendants avoided his presence. The members of the Synod of Worms fled to Rome, to make their peace with the justly-irritated Pontiff. The nobles set free the Saxon prisoners who had been confided to their custody. Otho appeared once more in arms to lead a new insurrection of his fellow-countrymen. The great princes of Germany convened a Council to deliberate on the deposition of their sovereign. To every eye but his own, all seemed to be lost. Even to him it was but too evident that the *loyalty of his subjects had been undermined*, and that his throne was tottering beneath him. A single resource remained. He might yet assemble the faithful or the desperate adherents of his cause—inspire dread into those whose allegiance he had forfeited—make one last strenuous effort in defence of his crown—and descend to the tomb, if so it must be, the anointed and acknowledged chief of the Carlovingian empire.*

"With a mind wrought up to such resolves, he traversed the north of Germany to encounter the Saxon insurgents—published to the world the sen-

* That he could never be, but through the act of the Pope.

tence of Utrecht — and called on the Lombard bishops to concur in the excommunication it denounced. He reaped the usual reward of audacity. Though repelled by Otho, and compelled to retrace his march to the Rhine, he found every city, village, and convent, by which he passed, distracted with the controversy between the diadem and the tiara. Religion and awakening loyalty divided the empire. Though not yet combining into any definite form, the elements of a new confederacy were evidently at work in favour of a monarch, who thus knew how to draw courage and energy from despair. Yet the moral sentiment of the German people was as yet unequivocally against their sovereign. The Imperialists mournfully acknowledged that their chief was justly condemned. The Papalists indignantly denied the truth of the reproaches cast on their leader. In support of that denial, Gregory defended himself in epistles addressed to all the greater Teutonic prelates."

All is deliberate, calm, equitable, forbearing, on the part of the Pontiff: the chosen as well as the constituted umpire, in a cause of far greater tyranny on one side, and of suffering far greater from that tyranny on the other, than that in which Stephen Langton took the lead. The subjects of Henry IV. had quite as clear a right to look for redress as had those of King John, when with a Popish Archbishop at their head, they obliged the latter to subscribe to Magna Charta.

"At length, in the autumn of 1076, appeared from Rome a rescript which, in the event (no longer doubtful) of Henry's continued resistance to the sentence of the last Papal Council, required the German princes and prelates, counts and barons, to elect a new emperor, and assured them of the Apostolical confirmation of any choice which should be worthily made. These were no idle words. The death struggle could no longer be postponed. Legates arrived from Rome, to guide the proceedings of the Diet to be convened for this momentous deliberation. It met during the autumn at Tribur.

"The annals of mankind scarcely record so solemn or so dispassionate an act of national justice. (Let this not be forgotten at Canossa.) On every adjacent height some princely banner waved over the mature vintage, and joining in that pleasant toil, and in the carols of that gay season, groups of unarmed soldiers might be traced along the furthest windings of the neighbouring Rhine. In the centre, and under the defence of that vast encampment, rose a pavilion, within which were collected all whose dignity entitled them to a voice in that high debate. From the only extant record of what occurred, and of what was spoken there, it may be inferred that Henry's offences against the Church, were regarded lightly in comparison with the criminality of his civil government. Stationed on the opposite bank of the river, he received continued intelligence of the progress and tendency of the discussion. The pros-

pect darkened hourly. Soldiers had been already dispatched to secure him, and unknightly indignities inflicted on his person, might for ever have estranged the reverence borne to him by the ruder multitude, when he attempted to avert the impending sentence by an offer to abdicate all the powers of government to his greater feudatories, and to retreat from the contest, as the merely titular head of the Teutonic empire.

"Palpable as was the snare to the subtle Italian legates, the simple-minded Germans appear to have nearly fallen into it. For seven successive days, speech answered speech on this proposal, and when men could neither speak nor listen more, the project of a nominal reign, shorn of all substantial authority, was adopted by the Diet, but (in modern phrase) with amendments obviously imposed by the representatives of the sacerdotal power. The Pope was to be invited to hold a Diet at Augsburgh in the ensuing spring. He was meanwhile to decide whether Henry should be restored to the bosom of the Church. If so absolved, he was at once to resume all his beneficial rights. But if the sun should go down on him, still an excommunicate person, on the 23rd of February, 1077, his crown was to be transferred to another. Till then he was to dwell at Spires, with the Imperial title, but without a court, an army, or a place of public worship."

How happy would it have been for a Charles I., or a Louis XVI., to have had a Hildebrand rather

than the headsman to arbitrate between them and their respective nations? The charges for which they were put to death were trifles light as air, in comparison with those of which Henry was notoriously and confessedly guilty.

"But against this regimen of sackcloth and fasting, the body and the soul of Henry revolted. At the close of the Diet of Tribur, he had scarcely completed his twenty-sixth year. Degraded, if not finally deposed, hated and reviled, abandoned by man, and compelled by conscience to anticipate his abandonment by God, he yet in the depths of his misery retained the remembrance and the hope of dominion, youth could still gild the future. He might yet retrieve his reputation, resume the blessings he had squandered, and take a signal vengeance on his great antagonist (his firmest friend—he alone, who prevented the Germans from deposing him. This is clear as the light of day from the contemporary historians.) And amidst the otherwise universal desertion, there was one faithful bosom on which to repose his own aching heart. Contrasted with the guilt and the baseness of her husband's court, Bertha is disclosed to us as the pure surrounded by the licentious (of her husband's court), the faithful by the false. Her wrongs (at the hands of Henry) had been such as to render a deep resentment nothing less than a duty. Her happiness and her honour had been basely assailed by the selfish profligate (Henry) to whom the most solemn vows

had in vain united her. But to her those vows were a bond stronger than death, and never to be dissolved or weakened by all the confederate powers of earth and hell. To suffer was the condition—to pardon and to love, the necessity—of her existence. Vice and folly could not altogether have depraved him who was the object of such devoted tenderness, and who at length returned it with almost equal constancy, after a bitter experience had taught him the real value of the homage and caresses of the world.

"In her society, though an exile from every other, Henry wore away two months at Spires in a fruitless solicitation to the Pope (who, as umpire called in by the German nation, could not consent) to receive him in Italy as a penitent suitor for reconcilement with the Church. December had now arrived; and in less than ten weeks would be fulfilled the term, when, if still excommunicate, he must, according to the sentence at Tribur, finally resign, not the prerogatives alone, but the title and rank of Head of the Empire. To avert this danger, no sacrifice could be declined; and history tells of none more singular than those to which the heir of the Franconian dynasty was constrained to submit. (Henry knew the Pope was on his way to Germany; his crossing the Alps was a manœuvre to prevent the investigation, to take his absolution by surprise, cause a misunderstanding between the Pope and the German princes, and if possible to get hold of Hil-

debrand, and oblige him either to give him the Imperial crown, or forfeit his liberty.) In the garb of a pilgrim, and in a season so severe as during four months to have converted the Rhine into a solid mass of ice, Henry and his faithful Bertha, carrying in her arms their infant child, undertook to cross the Alps, with no escort but such menial servants as it was yet in his power to hire for that desperate enterprise. Among the courtiers who had so lately thronged his palace, not one would become the companion of his toil and dangers. Among the neighbouring princes who so lately had solicited his alliance, not one would grant him the poor boon of a safe-conduct and a free passage through their states. Even his wife's mother exacted from him large territorial cessions as the price of allowing him and her own daughter to scale one of the Alpine passes, apparently that of the Great St. Bernard. Day by day peasants cut an upward path through the long windings of the mountains. In the descent from the highest summit, when thus at length gained, Henry had to encounter fatigues and dangers from which the chamois-hunter would have turned aside. Vast trackless wastes of snow were traversed, sometimes by mere crawling, at other times by the aid of rope-ladders or still ruder contrivances, and not seldom by a sheer plunge along the inclined steep; the Empress and her child being enveloped on those occasions in the raw skins of beasts slaughtered on the march.

"The transition from these dangers to security, from the pine forests, glaciers, and precipices of the Alps, to the sunny plains of the south, was not so grateful to the wearied travellers as the change from the gloom of Spires to the rapturous greeting which hailed their advance along the course of the Po. A splendid court (consisting of the bishops who had bought, and the nobles who had sold, the inheritance of Christ, and for so doing had been struck by Hildebrand with the censures of the Church), a numerous army, and an exulting populace, once more attested the majesty of the Emperor; nor was the welcome of his Italian subjects destitute of a deeper significance than usually belongs to the pæans of the worshippers of kings. They dreamed of the haughty Pontiff humbled, of the See of Ambrose exalted to civil and ecclesiastical supremacy, and of the German yoke (read the 'yoke of the Lord') lifted from their necks.

"Doomed as were these soaring hopes to an early disappointment, the enthusiasm of Henry's partisans justified those more sober expectations which had prompted his perilous journey across the Alps. He could now prosecute his suit to the Pope with the countenance and in the vicinity of those zealous adherents, and at a secure distance from the enemies towards whom Hildebrand was already advancing, to hold the contemplated Diet at Augsburg (and to spare Henry all that tragic suffering of crossing the Alps, in such awful weather). In personal command of a military escort, Matilda attended the Papal

progress, and was even pointing out to her guards the line of march through the snowy peaks which closed in her northern horizon, when tidings of the rapid approach of the Emperor at the head of a formidable force induced her to retreat to the fortress of Canossa. (Matilda knew her *cousin* Henry well. She did not think an intent on his part, to seize on the Pope, 'opposed to all probability.') There, in the bosom of the Apennines, her sacred charge would be secure from any sudden assault."

Canossa, in the same country as Reggio, Guastalla and Mirandola, is seated, not among the Apennines, but on an isolated hill of no great height, rising abruptly from the extension of the great plain of Lombardy, which spreads away from the right bank of the Po towards Modena, and so on through the Papal States to Urbino, as we have elsewhere described.[1]

"Supported either by miracle, or by her own indomitable spirit (we have seen what sources of strength and courage St. Gregory had recommended her in his letter), Matilda wielded the sword of justice with masculine energy in the field against the enemies of the holy See, or in the tribunal against such as presumed to violate her laws. He who knew her best regarded those stern exercises of her authority but as the promptings of a heart which loved too wisely and too well to love with fondness.

In the camp, such was the serenity of her demeanour, and the graceful flow of her discourse, that she appeared to him a messenger of mercy, in the garb of Penthiselea. On the judgment-seat he saw in her not the stern avenger of crime, but rather the compassionate mother of the feeble and the oppressed. In an illiterate age her habits of study were such, that she could make herself intelligible to all the troops among whom she lived, though levied from almost every part of Europe, and especially to the Italian, French and German soldiers, whose tongues she used with equal facility.*

"Donnizone (her biographer) assures us, that though he was ever at hand as her Latin secretary, she wrote with her own pen all her letters in that language to the Pontiffs and Sovereigns of her times—a proof, as the readers of his lamentable hexameters will think, of her discernment no less than of her learning. On his testimony also may be claimed for her the praise of loving, collecting, and preserving books, for thus he sings:—

> "Copia librorum non deficit huic re bonorum,
> Libros ex cunctis habet artibus atque figuris."

"How well she understood the right use of them may be inferred from her employment of Werner,

* We have already remarked that German was familiar to all the Italian princes and nobility; the dialect of the people in Italy and in the south-eastern parts of France of that age differed but slightly.

a jurist, to revise the "Corpus Juris Civilis," and of Anselm, her confessor, to compile a collection of the "Canon Law," and to write a commentary on the "Psalms of David." Such, indeed, was her proficiency in Scriptural knowledge, that her versifying chaplain maintains her equality in such studies with the most learned of the bishops, her contemporaries.

"Warrior, ascetic and scholar as she was, the spirit of Matilda was too generous to be imprisoned within the limits of the camp, the cell or the library. It was her nobler ambition (to which she had been exhorted by Hildebrand) to be the refuge of the oppressed, and the benefactor of the miserable, and the champion of what she deemed the cause of truth. Mortifying the love of the world's glory, she laboured with a happy inconsistency to render it still more glorious. At her bidding, castles and palaces, convents and cathedrals, statues and public monuments, arose through Tuscany. Yet so well was her munificence sustained by a wise economy, that to the close of her long reign, she was still able to maintain her hereditary title to the appellation of "the rich," by which her father, Boniface, had been distinguished. She might with no less propriety have been designated powerful; since, either by direct authority, or by irresistible influence, she ruled nearly the whole of Northern Italy, from Lombardy to the Papal States, and received from the other monarchs of the West, both the outward homage and the real deference reserved for sovereign poten-

tates. Matilda attained to the plenary dominion over her hereditary states at the very crisis of the great controversy of the age."*

* We need hardly remind the reader, that this Christian heroine, the Judith of the Church, not content with fighting the battles of the See of St. Peter during her long life, at her death bequeathed to it the entire of her vast possessions. Of this legacy of the "Great Countess," her own secretary and biographer, Donnizone, says:—

> "Propria Clavigero suâ subdidit omnia Petro,
> Janitor est cœli suus hæres, ipsaque Petri:
> Accipiens scriptum documento papa benignus."

The exact limits of the provinces bequeathed cannot be defined with certainty; the most probable opinion is, that they coincided pretty nearly with what was afterwards the Duchy of Modena. "Terra Mathildis in Mutinensi Ducatu nondum nato sita est."—*Cenni*, p. 214. But beyond these limits Matilda was mistress of many towns and domains dispersed in various parts of Italy;—"Multa extra suam terram possidebat prædia et oppida."—*Ib.* p. 216. The unsustained assertion of Muratori and Leibnitz, that it was only allodial, and not the feudal possessions that were bequeathed, is refuted by Cenni, p. 198. To prevent all cavil about the donation, she renewed it, long after the death of St. Gregory VII.

The lands were leased for a term of fifteen years to the Emperor Lothair. Alexander III. gave a similar lease of them to Frederic Barbarossa at Venice. They were conferred as a fief of the holy See by investiture by Innocent III.—*vid. Raynald, ad an.* 1215, *n.* 40. Cenni demonstrates that up to A. D. 1303, "jura S. Sedis in eorundum certa esse," p. 202. The cities on those estates were at no time, he says, in the actual possession of the Popes, but only the lands. "Stª Sedes sero Mathildis terram, illos vero civitates nunquam est adepta," p. 225. Roman Tuscany, which

"Canossa was the cradle and the original seat of her ancient race. It was also the favourite residence of the Great Countess; and when Gregory found shelter within her halls, they were crowded with guests of the highest eminence in social and in literary rank. So imposing was the scene, and so superb the assemblage, that the drowsy muse of her versifying chaplain awakened for once to an hyperbole, and declared Canossa to be nothing less than a new Rome, the rival of that of Romulus. 'Thither, as if to verify the boast, came a long line of mitred penitents from Germany (who had cursed, excommunicated and deposed him whom in their hearts they knew was the rightful successor of St. Peter). The severe Hildebrand consigned them on their arrival to solitary cells (not as prisoners though), with bread and water for their fare; and there also appeared the German Emperor himself, not the leader of the rumoured host of Lombard invaders, but surrounded by a small and unarmed retinue—mean in his apparel, and contrite in outward aspect, a humble applicant for pardon and acceptance to the communion of the faithful."

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went by the name of the Patrimony, had nothing to do with these lands. *Ib.* p. 209.

Cenni's edition of the Chartula Comitissæ Mathildæ, ex Codice Albini, Cencio Antiquioris, is far preferable to those of Leibnitz or Muratori—"ipsumque prodit ex Comitissæ *autographo* excerptum." 196.

Let us now look from this picture on another. It is the character of Henry as painted by the same master-hand, which makes him appear as a hero, the victim of pontifical vindictiveness and arrogance, and throws over his delinquencies a veil through which they seem rather an ornament than a disgrace to a high-spirited and gallant prince. "Of the domestic life of the young Emperor—(he was only Emperor-elect)—the dark tale recorded by the chroniclers of his age," we are told, "would not be endured by the delicacy of our own." Such was the hero in private life, worse than Eliogabalus or Nero—advisedly, we say *worse*. "His public acts might seem to have been prompted by the determination to exasperate to madness the national pride, the moral sense, and the religious feeling of his subjects."* That is, as we are told elsewhere in terms less vague, he made war on his own unoffending subjects, "confiscated the estates of the people, exiled their nobles, imprisoned their bishops, SOLD THE PEASANTS AS SLAVES, or compelled them to labour in erecting fortresses, from which his mercenary troops might curb and *ravage* the surrounding country." Under this plan of governing his people, adopted by the hero Henry IV. we are told that "the cry of the oppressed rose on every side from the unhappy land. It entered into the ears of the Avenger."† Again it is said of him (p. 283) that

* Page 283. † Page 304.

his life was "debauched," his reign was "impious." The court of the hero, we are told (p. 308), was a hot-bed of "guilt and baseness." Of Bertha, his first queen, the noble, the fond, the beautiful, we are told that "her wrongs, suffered at the hero's hands, had been such as to render a deep resentment nothing less than a duty. Her happiness AND HER HONOUR had been basely assailed—(prostituted is the word, as history writes it)—by the SELFISH PROFLIGATE (Henry IV.), to whom the most solemn vows had in vain united her."* After the death of the injured, outraged Bertha, the hero married Adelaide, the noble sister of that hero, Godefroy de Bouillon, captain of the first crusade, and King of Jerusalem. Fain would history blot from her page the record of how Henry treated her.† To crown all, the career of Henry had been such that, as the assembled princes of Germany declared to the legates in the Diet of Forcheim, there was not one amongst them who would believe him on his oath. Such is the portrait, drawn by a friendly hand, for whom the sympathies of the reader are sought to be enlisted.

* Page 308.

† "Il la fait violer par ses compagnons de débauche, il ordonne enfin à son fils Conrad d'en faire autant, et, sur son refus, il le renie pour son fils et le déclare bâtard." *Berthold. apud Rohrb. L.* 66. *p.* 523. Amongst the monsters in human shape who in heathen times were the scourge of mankind and the opprobrium of human nature, we assert with confidence, there is no parallel to be found for the conduct of this royal hero.

Moreover, if Henry had to undergo humiliations at Canossa, or in traversing the Alps, he had only himself to blame for it. Hildebrand was hastening into Germany to save him that trouble: and when Henry, in violation of solemn treaty, came suing for release from the censures the justice of which he did not question, the Pope had two decisive reasons for resisting: first, because by solemn compact with the entire German nation not to conclude this business, one of life or death for them, without their concurrence in the Diet, as had been on all hands agreed to; and secondly, because, from his profound knowledge of the character of the prince he had to deal with, he knew that in taking this extraordinary step, the sole intention of Henry was to overreach him; and as we shall see, the sequel proved that in this view he was perfectly correct.

It is thus that Lambert of Aschaffenburg tells the story. King Henry having approached Canossa, caused the Countess Matilda to come to a conference, in which he persuaded her to become his intercessor with the Pope, making all sorts of promises and protestations that there never was man more sorry than himself, or more resolved on a total change of life. With the Countess went Adelaide of Savoy, the margrave Azzo d'Este, with some other Italian lords, and Henry's own kinsman, the bosom friend of Hildebrand, St. Hugh the abbot of Clugni. His petition was,—first, that the Pope would treat as falsehoods the charges brought against him by the

German princes—(after seven days debate in solemn Diet, and by "an act of national justice," to use the words of Henry's most eloquent apologist, the "most solemn and dispassionate" to be found in the records of history)—and next, that without more ado he would absolve him from the sentence recorded against him, on the proven truth of those charges. The Pope replied, that it was contrary to the laws of the Church to examine one accused in the absence of his accusers; that if the King confided in his innocence, he should not fear to present himself according to treaty at Augsburgh on the day named; and that, as for himself, no *ex parte* representations should ever cause him to swerve from rigid, impartial justice. The deputation answered on the part of Henry, that it was no fear of being judged by his Holiness at Augsburgh or anywhere else, seeing that he knew him to be an incorruptible judge, that made him urge for absolution from the censure, but solely because he knew the German princes were anxious to take advantage of that clause of the Germanic constitution—*juxta palatinas leges*—by which, if before the expiring of the year he remained unabsolved from the excommunication, he *ipso facto* forfeited the crown; and that therefore he only asked to be freed from the censure, protesting his entire readiness to bind himself in every way and under any conditions, either to meet and answer his accusers at such time and place as the Pope might

deign to appoint, or failing to do so, to renounce his royalty.*

In a word, so far was St. Gregory from acting with vindictive feelings or wanton severity on this occasion, as, without the shadow of *historical* proof, he is accused of doing, that he allowed his latent and unconquerable leaning for the unfortunate Henry, and the entreaties of so many personages pre-eminent for worth, so far to sway the firmness of his judgment, that Planck, a Protestant and a thorough German, says that the course he took was evidently intended to screen the King, and save him from being deprived of the crown.† And, indeed, it is quite evident from the Pope's own account of the transaction to the German princes, that he was conscious they would consider he had been too yielding; hence he endeavours to place his treatment of the royal delinquent in the harshest light.

On the 28th of January, A. D. 1077, immediately after absolving Henry, the Pontiff writes thus to the Germans. "In pursuance of the resolution agreed to with your deputies, we came into Lombardy some eight and twenty days previous to the term fixed for the dukes to meet and conduct us through the passes of the mountains; but at the expiration of the time they sent to tell us that they could not furnish the escort (they were prevented by Henry),

* Lamb. Schafn. apud Rohrb. L. 65. p. 314.

† Planck, T. 4, p. 178-184. apud Rohrb. L. 65. p. 318, 319.

which gave us great pain, as we were thus prevented from meeting you. In the mean time we had certain intelligence that the King was coming, and before entering Italy, he offered by his envoys to make the fullest satisfaction to God and St. Peter: promising us obedience to the utmost for the correction of his morals, provided we would only grant him absolution. For a long time we consulted and deliberated, reprehending him severely through the envoys for his excesses. In fine, without any show of hostility and with but few attendants, he came to the city of Canossa, where we then were. He was kept three days at the gate without any mark of royal dignity, bare of foot and in a woollen garment, entreating mercy with many tears, in such sort, that of all the assistants, not one but wept, urging us with the most violent supplications in his behalf, and astonished at our obduracy--some of them crying out that it was not Apostolical severity, but tyrannical cruelty. At last, we suffered ourselves to be overcome; we gave him absolution, and received him into the bosom of the Church, after having had from him the guarantees (of which herewith are copies), the same having been confirmed (on oath) by the Abbot of Clugni, by the Countesses Matilda and Adelaide, and by many other nobles, ecclesiastical and secular;—all this only adding to our anxiety to pass over the mountains to you, to labour more effectually for the pacification of the Church and the Empire, *for you ought to be*

*thoroughly persuaded that we have left the whole affair in suspense, until we shall have an opportunity to decide, being aided by your counsel."**

If that letter does not prove the Pope at Canossa to have acted towards Henry in the reverse of a hostile or vindictive manner,—then is language the most simple and expressive bereft of meaning.

"And Hildebrand! fathomless as are the depths of the human heart, who can doubt that, amidst the conflict of emotions which now agitated him, the most dominant was the exulting sense of victory over the earth's greatest monarch? His rival at his feet, his calumniator self-condemned, the lips which had rudely summoned him to abdicate the Apostolic crown now suing to him for the recovery of the Imperial diadem; the exaltation in his person of decrepid age over fiery youth, of mental over physical power, of the long-enthralled Church over the long-tyrannized world: all combined to form a triumph too intoxicating even for that capacious intellect." (So says the brilliant writer so often quoted: the candid reader, we think, when he has perused the above letter, will form a different judgment as to the Pope's sentiments towards the ill-fated King.)

"Environed by many of the greatest princes of Italy, who owed fealty and allegiance to the Emperor, Gregory affected to turn a deaf ear to his soli-

* L. 4. Epist. 12.

citations. His humblest offers were spurned; his most unbounded acknowledgments of the sacerdotal authority over the kings and kingdoms of the world were rejected. For the distress of her royal kinsman Matilda felt as women and as monarchs feel; but even her entreaties seemed to be fruitless. Day by day the same cold stern appeal to the future decisions of the Diet to be convened at Augsburgh, repelled the suit even of that powerful intercessor. The critical point, at which prayers for reconcilement would give way to indignation and defiance, had been almost reached. Then, and not till then, the Pope condescended to offer his ghostly pardon, on the condition that Henry would surrender into his hands the custody of the crown, the sceptre, and the other ensigns of royalty, and acknowledge himself unworthy to bear the royal title. This, however, was a scandal on which not even the proud spirit of the now triumphant priest dared to insist, and to which not even the now abject heart of the Emperor could be induced to submit. But the shame which was spared to the sovereign was inflicted with ruthless severity on the man." (The Pope's letter is alone sufficient to shew the injustice done to his motives. The sequel will exhibit this in a still clearer light.)

"It was towards the end of January, the earth was covered with snow, and the mountain streams were arrested by the keen frost of the Apennines, when, clad in a thin penitential garment of white linen, and bare of foot, Henry, the descendant

(cruelly self-degraded) of so many kings, and the ruler (and the ruthless tyrant) of so many nations, ascended slowly and alone the rocky path which led to the outer gate of the fortress of Canossa. With strange emotions of pity, of wonder, and of scorn, the assembled crowd gazed on his majestic form and noble features, as, passing through the first and the second gateway, he stood in the posture of humiliation before the third, which remained inexorably closed against his further progress. The rising sun found him there fasting, and there the setting sun left him, stiff with cold, faint with hunger, and devoured by shame and ill-suppressed resentment. A second day dawned, and wore tardily away, and closed, in a continuance of the same indignities, poured out on mankind at large in the person of their chief, by the Vicar of the meek, the lowly, and the compassionate Redeemer. A third day came, and still irreverently trampling on the hereditary lord of the fairer half of the civilized world, Hildebrand once more prolonged till nightfall this profane and hollow parody on the real workings of the broken and contrite heart (already hatching the plot for capturing the Pontiff, his oaths to the contrary, notwithstanding).

"Nor, in the midst of this outrage on every natural sentiment and every honest prejudice, was he unwarned of the activity and strength of those feelings. Lamentations, and even reproaches, rang through the castle of Canossa. Murmurs from

Henry's inveterate enemies, and his own zealous adherents, upbraided Gregory as exhibiting rather the cruelty of a tyrant than the rigour of an apostle. (The language used by the Pope in his letter to soften the matter on the part of Henry to the Germans.) But the endurance of the sufferer was the only measure of the inflexibility of the tormentor; nor was it till the unhappy monarch had burst away from the scene of his mental and bodily anguish, and sought shelter in a neighbouring convent, that the Pope, yielding at length to the instances of Matilda, would admit the degraded suppliant into his presence. It was the fourth day on which he had worn the humiliating garb of an affected penitence, and in that sordid raiment he drew near on his bare feet to the more than imperial majesty of the Church, and prostrated himself in more than servile deference before the diminutive and emaciated old man, 'from the terrible grace of whose countenance,' we are told, 'the eye of every beholder recoiled as from the lightning.' Hunger, cold, nakedness and shame, had for the moment crushed that gallant spirit. He wept and cried for mercy, again and again renewing his entreaties, until he had reached the lowest level of abasement to which his own enfeebled heart, or the haughtiness of his great antagonist, could depress him. Then, and not till then, did the Pope condescend to revoke the anathema of the Vatican.

"Another expiation was yet to be made to the

injured majesty of the tiara. He in whom the dynasties of Cæsar, of Charlemagne, and of Otho had their representative, might still be compelled to endure one last and galling contumely. Holding in his hand the seeming bread, which words of far more than miraculous power had just transmuted into the very body which died and was entombed at Calvary—'Behold!' exclaimed the Pontiff, fixing his keen and flashing eye on the jaded countenance of the unhappy monarch, 'behold the body of the Lord! Be it this day the witness of my innocence. May the Almighty God now free me from the suspicion of the guilt of which I have been accused by thee and thine, if I be really innocent! May He this very day smite me with a sudden death, if I be really guilty!' Amidst the acclamations of the bystanders, he then looked up to heaven, and broke and ate the consecrated element. 'And now,' he exclaimed, turning once more on the awe-stricken Henry that eye which neither age could dim nor pity soften, 'if thou art conscious of thy innocence, and assured that the charges brought against thee by thine own opponents are false and calumnious, free the Church of God from scandal, and thyself from suspicion, and take as an appeal to heaven this body of the Lord.'"

One or two slight divergencies here again require notice. First of all, there was nothing in this procedure but what had been for ages the discipline of the Church on similar occasions, as we had occasion

to notice in the memorable instance of King Lothair and Hadrian III., related in a preceding chapter of this history. In the next place, what the Pontiff really said was this. "I have been for a long time receiving letters from you and from those of your party, in which you accuse me of having usurped the holy See by simony, and of having committed crimes as well before as since my consecration, which, according to the canons, should exclude me from holy orders. Although I could clear myself by the testimony of those who have known how I have lived from infancy, and who have been the authors of my promotion to the episcopal dignity, nevertheless, to remove all shadow of scandal, I am satisfied to refer my cause solely to the judgment of God." Then followed the adjuration as above.

"That in open contradiction to his own recent prayers and penances, (we continue to quote the same article,) the penitent should have accepted this insulting challenge was obviously impossible."

Not at all. There was nothing "insulting" in the proposal; in it there ought to have been nothing "impossible" or even difficult. Henry had protested his innocence, had solemnly affirmed through his envoys and intercessors, that the charges brought against him were false:—in humbling himself as a penitent he had not admitted by any means that he was guilty of those charges. He had sought only to be absolved from the *censure of excommunication*, under the express, ratified condition, that, in the face

of his accusers at Augsburgh, he would prove that innocence, which the Pontiff—*taking him at his word*—now gives him a most solemn and decisive opportunity of vindicating by judgment of God—a procedure, in those ages of faith, most usual and legitimate. We know how Henry kept his sworn promises. He recovered power only to make his subjects rue the day the *too-clement and partial Hildebrand had pardoned him.*

When we maintained that amidst all the apparent harshness of Canossa there existed in the breast of Hildebrand a desire the most earnest to save the royal culprit, and not to crush him, we only re-echoed what is attested by the public records of the time. Instead of being true to his sworn promises, it was after his absolution that Henry surpassed himself in every most cruel and wanton excess of tyranny on his hapless subjects. The Saxons complain to Gregory that he whom he had absolved, after he had been solemnly deposed in the great Diet of the German nation, was now allowed to crush them in the very abyss of misery; and they in the strongest terms reclaim against his forbearance where there is question not of erring sheep like themselves, but of ferocious wolves who are ravaging the Lord's fold. These cries of distress were re-echoed by the prelates assembled in the seventh of of those Synods held by him at the Lateran, before

that Pontiff, whom it has been customary to represent as the reckless implacable aggressor in this great conflict, could be moved to pronounce that sentence acknowledged by all Christendom to be as just as it was loudly called for.

The shadow of grief upon his countenance, and with deep drawn sighs that bespoke him sad at heart, the Pontiff, while every countenance in that venerable senate was turned upon his, rose slowly from his throne; and amidst the breathless stillness these deep toned words were heard from the speaker, who seemed to address his discourse not to earth but heaven:—

"Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and you Saint Paul, Doctor of the Nations, I beseech you, give ear to me, and vouchsafe me a favourable hearing. As you were the fervent disciples of the truth, aid me that I err not from it, so that my brethren may have the more confidence in me and may know and comprehend that it is by the faith which I have in you, after God and His Holy Mother, the Virgin Mary, that I resist sinners and the wicked, and that I uphold your faithful servants.

"You know that it was against my will I was promoted to holy orders, that it was against my will I followed Pope Gregory beyond the mountains, that it was against my will I returned with Pope Leo to the Roman Church in which I serve you; in fine, that it was above all against my will, in defiance of my tribulation, my sighs, and my tears,

that I have been placed, unworthy as I am, upon your throne. If I make this declaration, it is not that I wish to say it was I who chose you:—no, you have chosen me and have placed on me the heavy burden of the government of your Church. And because you have made me ascend this holy mountain, and have ordained me to cry out and to reproach the people of God and the children of the Church with their prevarications and their crimes, the confederates of Satan have risen up against me, wishing with their own hands to shed my blood. The kings of the earth and the princes of the world, people of all ranks and orders, have made common cause against the Lord, and against his anointed, and have said: 'Let us break their yoke and cast it far from us.' Then they strove by every means to get rid of me by death or banishment.

"At their head, Henry calling himself King, has stood up against your Church. In concert with many bishops, Ultramontane and Italian, he has endeavoured to enslave it, in hurling me from the pontifical throne. Your authority has withstood his arrogance, and your power has crushed it; confounded and humbled he came into Lombardy, imploring to be absolved from his excommunication."—Then follows the sentence, after a recapitulation in energetic terms, of the leading charges against the incorrigible scourge and deadly persecutor of the Church.*

* Vid. Labbe, T. 10, p. 381. et seq.

"The same sun which witnessed the ruin of Henry's army on the Elster, looked down on a conflict, in which, on that eventful morning, the forces of Matilda in the Mantuan territory fled before his own. He now, once more, descended into Italy. He came, not, as formerly, a pilgrim and an exile; but at the head of an army devoted to his person, and defying all carnal enemies and all spiritual censures. He came to encounter Hildebrand, destitute of all Transalpine alliances, and supported, even in Italy, by no power but that of Matilda; for the Norman Duke of Apulia was far away attempting the conquest of the Eastern Capital and Empire. But Henry left, in his rear, the invincible Saxons and the hero who commanded them. To prevent a diversion in that quarter, the Emperor proposed to abdicate his dominion in Saxony in favour of Conrad, his son. But Otho (a merry talker, as his annalist informs us) rejected the project with the remark, that 'the calf of a vicious bull usually proved vicious.' Leaving, therefore, this implacable enemy to his machinations, the Emperor pressed forward: and before the summer of 1080 the citizens of Rome saw, from their walls, the German standards in hostile array in the Campagna.

"In the presence of such danger, the gallant spirit of the aged Pope once more rose and exulted. He convened a Synod to attest his last defiance of his formidable enemy. He exhorted the German princes to elect a successor to Rudolf. In letters of

impassioned eloquence, he again maintained his supremacy over all the kings and rulers of mankind. He welcomed persecution as the badge of his holy calling, and, while the besiegers were at the gates, he disposed (at least in words) of royal crowns and distant provinces. Matilda supplied him with money, which, for a while, tranquillized the Roman populace. He himself wrought miracles to extinguish conflagrations kindled by their treachery. In language such as martyrs use, he consoled the partners of his sufferings. In language such as heroes breathe, he animated the defenders of the city. The siege, or blockade, continued for three years uninterruptedly, except when Henry's troops were driven, by the deadly heats of autumn, to the neighbouring hills. Distress and, it is alleged, bribery, at length subdued the courage of the garrison. On every side clamours were heard for peace, for Henry demanded, as the terms of peace, nothing more than the recognition of his imperial title, and his coronation by the hands of Gregory. [Thus confessing who was the rightful Pope, and also to whom it belonged, of right, to confer that title.] The conscience, *perhaps* the pride, of Gregory revolted against this proposal. His invincible will opposed and silenced the outcries of the famished multitudes; nor could their entreaties, or their threats, extort from him more than a promise that, in the approaching winter, he would propose the question to a Pontifical Synod. It met, by the per-

mission of Henry, on the 30th November, 1083. It was the latest Council of Gregory's Pontificate. A few bishops, faithful to their chief and to his cause, now occupied the seats so often thronged by mitred churchmen. Every pallid cheek and anxious eye was turned to him who occupied the loftier throne in the centre of that agitated assembly. He rose, and the half uttered suggestions of fear and human policy were hushed into deep stillness as he spoke. He spoke of the glorious example, of the sacred duty, of the light affliction, and of the eternal reward of martyrs for the faith. He spoke, as dying fathers speak to their children, of peace, and hope, and of consolation. But he spoke also, as inspired prophets spoke of yore to the Kings of Israel, denouncing the swift vengeance of heaven against his oppressor. The enraptured audience exclaimed that they had heard the voice of an angel, not of a man. Gregory dismissed the assembly, and calmly prepared for whatever extremity of distress might await him."*

At this crisis it was, when beleaguered by Henry, betrayed by false friends, abandoned by the Romans, St. Gregory would seem to the world to be without hope and to be crushed utterly, that he writes to the faithful to the following effect: —

"We know, well beloved brethren, that you compassionate our tribulations and our agonies, and that in your prayers you make remembrance of us before the Lord; doubt not that we, as is just, do as

* Edinb. Review, *ubi supra*.

much for you, for the Apostle saith: 'If one member suffer all the members suffer with it.' We believe that the charity of God has been diffused in our hearts from this, that we all wish the same thing, all desire and press forward to one object. Our hearts are set on one and the same thing, which is, that all the impious entering into themselves return to their Creator; we all desire one and the same thing, which is, that the holy Church oppressed and thrown into confusion from end to end of the globe, may resume its ancient splendour and solidity. We tend to one and the same thing, which is, that God may be glorified in us, and that we with our brethren, even with those who persecute us, may merit to attain to eternal life. Be not astonished, my dearly beloved brethren, if the world hate you, since we have given it provocation by our assaults on its profligacy and evil practices. What wonder that the princes of this world and the mighty hate us,—us the poor of Christ, who set ourselves in opposition to their wickedness: or that they rage against us with a certain indignation, since even by servants and subjects, revenge is sought to be inflicted on their superiors, who would oblige them to quit their iniquities? And, withal, but few of us, as yet, have resisted the impious even unto blood: still fewer of us have had as yet the enviable happiness to lay down our lives for Jesus Christ. Think, my well beloved, think well on this,—that the soldiers of a temporal warfare, enticed to it by vile hire, are daily exposing their lives for their employers;

and we, what do we suffer, what do we achieve for the King of kings, and for a glory which is to last for eternity? What shame! what opprobrium! what mockery! they, for a phantom glory, dread not to affront death,—and we for the treasures of heaven: for beatitude eternal, are afraid to run the risk of persecution!

"Away then with discouragement, let your hope become more vivid, fix your eyes upon the standard of our chief,—the standard of the Eternal King who says to us: 'in your patience you shall possess your souls.' And if we wish, with the help of Divine grace, promptly and with force to crush the old enemy, and to extricate ourselves from all his toils, let us be on the alert and cheerful, not to evade the persecutions with which he afflicts us, or even death itself for justice sake; but rather let us long for both through love of God, and in defence of the Christian religion. Behold the course by which we shall break our way through all these billows of a raging sea, and through the pride of the world attaining to a happy meeting, and to a participation in the triumphant reign of Him who is our chief, seated at the right hand of the Father; for his cry of battle to us, is,—'if we suffer together, together shall we reign.'"* No wonder that such a tribute of admiration as the following should have burst from the lips even of an opponent, on reading this address of St. Gregory to the faithful of Christ.

* L. 9. Epist. 21.

"When, even in the bosom of prosperity a man shews himself great, noble, lofty-minded, the world honours him, venerates and admires him; and if this good fortune continue to shine on his career until the moment of his death, his name is transmitted to posterity. Even when his work is left unfinished —even when he is surprised by death in the midst of his operations, we regard his destiny as accomplished, because we supply by our imagination what he has left as yet to finish. But when a man, thrown violently into the midst of tumult, and of a world full of disorders,—when, exposed to the vicissitudes of good and evil fortune, he still resists with firmness, and strong in his own conscience, animated by his faith and his convictions, still preserves his serenity and his self-possession, suffers with resignation, leaning on the ark which God has placed in his heart whilst all the universe is up in arms against him,—this is a man (says Voight) to become the wonder of his age."*

"In the spring of 1084 (the leaguer by Henry's army still continuing) the garrison was overpowered, the gates were thrown open to the besiegers, and Gregory sought a precarious refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. He left the great church of the Lateran as a theatre for the triumph of his antagonist and his rival. Seated on the Apostolic throne, Guibert, the antipope of Brixen, was consecrated there

* ap. Rohrb. l. 65. p. 392.

by the title of Clement III.; and then, as the successor of Peter, he placed the crown of Germany and of Italy on the brows of Henry and of Bertha as they knelt before him.

" And now Henry had in his grasp the author of the shame of Canossa, and of the anathemas of the Lateran, and of the civil wars and rebellions of the empire (for which the said Henry had no one but himself to blame.) The base populace of Rome were already anticipating, with sanguinary joy, the humiliation, perhaps the death, of the noblest spirit who had reigned there since the slaughter of Julius. The approaching catastrophe, whatever might be its form, Gregory was prepared to meet with a serene confidence in God, and a haughty defiance of man. A few hours more, and the castle of Saint Angelo must have yielded to famine or to assault, when the aged Pope, in the very agony of his fate, gathered the reward of the policy with which he had cemented the alliance between the Papacy and the Norman conquerors of the south of Italy. Robert Guiscard, returning from Constantinople, flew to the rescue of his suzerain. Scouts announced to Henry the approach of a mighty host, in which the Norman battle-axe and the cross were strangely united with the Saracenic scimitar and the crescent. A precipitate retreat scarcely rescued his enfeebled troops from the impending danger. He abandoned his prey in a fever of disappointment. Unable to slake his thirst for vengeance, he might allay it by

surprising the Great Countess, (a woman! nay his own near and affectionate kinswoman!) and overwhelming her forces, still in arms in the Modenese. But he was himself surprised in the attempt by her superior skill and vigilance. Shouts for St. Peter and Matilda roused the retreating Imperialists by night, near the castle of Sorbaria. They retired across the Alps with such a loss of men, of officers, and of treasure, as disabled them from any further enterprise."*

As for the after history of this ill-fated Prince, who, had he only the grace and wisdom to respond to the noble challenge of Hildebrand and turned his arms against the aggressive barbarians of the east, instead of using them, like a second Antiochus or Julian, to persecute the people of God; a fame as bright as that of Charlemagne might have been his. But he lent a willing ear to the monster engendered in the chaotic womb of the tenth century, half priest, half soldier, and altogether profligate,—wearing the coat of mail and the helmet over the sacerdotal vestments, which had been assumed only as a disguise for the worst passions. Defeat perched upon his banner, and infamy cast the foulest odium on his unconsecrated grave. It was bitter enough to be uncrowned by his own subjects: it was still more so to be deprived by his own son, whom he had most cherished, not only of the sceptre but of personal liberty. From the depths

* Edinburgh Review, April, 1845. Art. "Hildebrand." p. 680.

of his humiliation his cry is raised for succour and for pity—in directing it to the successor of Gregory VII. his broken heart confesses where lay the last hope of the wretched and of the oppressed.

We refer to his last appeal to the lords spiritual and temporal of Germany against his own son, Henry V., who copied his unhappy father's example in persecuting the Church. "We therefore supplicate you for God's sake," he says, "and for your soul, for our appeal to the Roman Pontiff, the Lord Paschal II. and the Roman Church; in fine, for the honour of the empire, we implore you, in pity to induce our son to disband his army, to cease from persecuting us, and to agree to our meeting at some befitting time and place to re-establish the peace of the realm. Which, if he refuse to do, we make our protest against his conduct to God, to St. Mary, to the ever-blessed Peter, our patron, to all the saints and to all Christians, but particularly to you, that you cease to incite him to pursue us with hostilities, or to make common cause with him. Already we have appealed in this cause, and now for the third time we renew our appeal, to the Lord Paschal, Roman Pontiff, to the holy See universal, and to the Roman Church."*

The effect produced by the tidings of his death was similar to that produced by the fall of Julian on the long persecuted Christians. "Praises be to God," says an ancient chronicler, in recording the

* Vid. Wurst. p. 399. ap. Rohrb. l. 66. p. 680.

event, " who tardily, it is true, but nevertheless with awe-inspiring effect has given victory to his Church : the same Galilean who of old vanquished Julian, has made for her the fiftieth year of the new Nabuchodonosor, a year of real jubilee."*

The conception of Hildebrand's history, which would make its grand epic interest consist in this conflict with Henry IV., is manifestly superficial. It deals not with that grand revolution, or more strictly speaking, reconstruction of Christendom, which was the great achievement of Hildebrand. His work, (bequeathed by him to his successors, in a state somewhat analogous to that in which Michael Angelo handed over St. Peter's, to the architects who followed him,) was carried on to the most finished perfection by successive Pontiffs, without the slightest deviation from his plans or spirit—so that it was as much his own work, morally speaking, as if he had been superintending it all the time. In this view, and it is the one which history warrants, the persecution of the Henrys is but an episode in the great drama, the catastrophe of which does not occur till the age of Luther. The onslaughts of Henry may be compared to those of Sanballat and his Arabs against the children of Israel, while they were rebuilding Jerusalem from its ruins. If they

* Urspergen, ad an. 1106.

retarded they did not interrupt the work of Hildebrand. In his enterprise as in that of Esdras it might sometimes be said, as the princes were gathered together, and bore down to the attack—"the strength of the bearer of burdens is destroyed, and the rubbish is very much, and we shall not be able to build the wall." Still the building of Hildebrand goes on: "with one of his hands he did the work, and with the other he held a sword."*

During his pontificate, what we may term ecclesiastical parliaments, which were open to the laity and clergy of Christendom, continued to be held annually at Rome, and had such an influence in re-establishing discipline, and raising the clergy and hierarchy from their wretchedly degraded condition, to one of pristine purity: in reinvigorating zeal, in rekindling knowledge, that in a few years from his death the whole aspect of things is changed. Thus, when Paschal II. was made prisoner at the altar in St. Peter's, by the perjured son and successor of Henry IV., they were the bishops of the countries on this side the Alps, especially of France and Germany, with the great St. Anselm of England, who came to the rescue,—confirming the successor of Hildebrand when he seemed to falter. St. Gregory also dealt with Berenger in such a way, that after much tergiversation the heresiarch himself was sincerely converted, and with himself expired his errors.

Of his character in private life, we have but a brief

* 2 Esdras iv.

word to say. It has ever been one of the prerogatives, or penances, perhaps, to speak more correctly, attached to greatness, to be attacked and misrepresented: pre-eminence in this respect, also, belongs to Gregory VII. Indeed, the Hildebrand of anti-papal writers is, we will not say quite a different thing from the Hildebrand we find in the letters of the real personage who bore that name, and in the trustworthy records of his times—it is simply a chimera. It is a monstrous creation of the fancy made delirious by the passions, or a broad caricature got up to excite or to foster such a delirium in others. A Hildebrand with the motives and passions of a Mahomed Ali, or of a Doctor Francia, combined with an immeasurably wider field for their gratification than was possessed by either, still living as, by his literary traducers, it is allowed this Pontiff lived, is such a character as not only never did exist, but such as it is not in the nature of things, could ever have had an existence. To say that the real Hildebrand, whether in moral or intellectual greatness, whether in the vastness and gigantic grasp of his genius, in the irresistible potency of his will, or in the lightning-like rapidity and practised mastery with which his resolves were carried into effect, has never been surpassed by any of the mightiest who have excited the wonder of the generations before whom, as the great drama has gone on from age to age, they put forth their powers, is merely to state a truism at which ignorance alone could cavil; but

to say that Hildebrand was a loving and loveable character will very possibly excite a smile in most even of those, who revere him for his austere sanctity, and admire him for his extraordinary gifts both as a man and as a Christian. This point we pretend not to argue, but leave a few usually unnoticed incidents and facts to tell their own story. First, then, the very name of Gregory VII. is a monument —a grand and imperishable monument, erected to gratitude and love of the individual to whom he stood indebted for the training of his wonderful mental powers. The title of Gregory the Seventh he assumed, not only from enthusiasm for a great principle, but also through his love and gratitude towards John Gratian, his preceptor, who was Gregory the Sixth. Again, though the endearments of the closest consanguinity and worldly interests all tended to draw them the other way, and even to array them in hostility against him, the greatest, most spotless and universally admired personages of his times were the devoted, the enthusiastic friends of Hildebrand. The Judith, the Deborah of Christendom, the heroine Matilda was the cousin— St. Hugh, the Abbot of Clugni, was the close kinsman—the Empress Agnes was the fond mother—of Henry IV., but they were all, heart and mind, devoted to Hildebrand. That looks like the love which "many waters shall not extinguish." Another bosom friend of Hildebrand was Desiderius, the Abbot of Monte Casino; just now we shall see what

manner of man was Desiderius. In fine, the outpourings of heroical affection and fidelity superior to every instinct of dread, displayed towards the Sufferer of Golgotha, alone surpass those of which Hildebrand was the object on that cruel night, when maltreated as his Divine Master had been before him, he was wounded at the altar, stripped of his robes, and dragged by the hair of the head, under a shower of blows, from the chapel sacred to the memory of the infant Redeemer's birth. Even the sister of Cencio reviled him in his sufferings. But there were other noble Roman matrons who could not be kept either by the fury of the winter-night tempest, or by the still fiercer howling and violence of the murderous retainers of his captor, from following him into that lion's den. They gathered round him in the dungeon, sterged away the gore from his venerable but serene features; dressed his wound, wrapped their rich ermined cloaks around his almost frozen members; and one brave heart that was there—his name is well known in heaven, though history has not recorded it—took the feet of the holy confessor of Christ, and placing them in his bosom, brought into them the vivifying warmth, which his heart could so well afford to lend from its own super-abounding store.*

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* "Pedesque ejus in sinu suo composuit."—*Vita S. Gregorii Papæ VII. auctore Paulo Bernriedensi, Subæquali, i. e. a contemporary. Cap.* 46.

Worn out and shattered beyond recovery by the action of the mighty mind within it, more even than by a life of unparalleled exertions, or by the austerities which he practised as fervently under the robes of the pontificate as under the cowl of a prior, it was only the body of Hildebrand that succumbed to death. The might of his genius and his heroism never forsook him to the last. The words with which he gave up his last breath sum up his history in a single sentence. It was the cry of a hero-saint invincible even in death, leaving the combat to his less mighty companions in arms, when the victory is already achieved. His spirit continued to animate his successors, and to shape the policy of Rome as emphatically as if, instead of the Victors, the Urbans and the other heroes of the Papacy who succeeded him, he had in his own person continued to wield the sceptre. The three of his contemporaries whom he designated as best fitted to be Popes during such a crisis, were all promoted, in the order in which he had named them, through arrangements which can hardly be looked on as other than providential. They announced to the Christian world that they had ascended the throne only to complete his plans, and to perpetuate that policy which he had reanimated in the administration of the Church. On the side of the East, his grand, far-sighted, and salutary projects were more than accomplished. Luminous as was his imagination, and towering as were his hopes, they could hardly have ever come

up to the immensity of the benefits which accrued, not to the East alone, but to Christendom, from the crusades. The science of history is not in a state at present to allow of any person calling this position in question, except at the risk of being self-convicted of ignorance, or proved incapable of appreciating conclusions which have been established in the clearest light of evidence.

We saw the picture of the East struck off in the letter of St. Gregory to Henry IV. It represented not only the insufferable lot of the Christians, trampled under the hoofs of the Saracen and the Turk; it shewed that, if not encountered and broken on the soil of Asia, the aggressive might of the Crescent overleaping the last and already crumbling barrier between it and the West, with shaft and scimitar would speedily carry conviction of their madness into the hearts of feudal kings and barons, for slighting his exhortations to be at peace among each other as brethren in Christ, and to unite against their common enemy. Byzantium at that juncture was menaced with a destruction which, but for the first crusade, must have hastened its fate by four centuries. While the Turks were mustering to overwhelm it on one side, the Cossacks were hastening to strike for their share of the spoil, from an opposite direction. To use the language of Alexis himself, all that the

Greek Cæsar could do was to fly before his enemies from city to city. In the then state of the nations Constantinople was the key of Europe. Between the Hellespont and the Rhine, there was absolutely nothing in the shape of a power competent, not to say to hurl back the fanatic but thoroughly disciplined myriads, as in the glorious after-times of a Eugene or a Sobieski; there was no military combination that could have so much as retarded them in their march. Of Russia, Poland, Hungary, we need say nothing. As yet they had acquired little or no consistency as States. Their power, like their glory, is altogether of a later date. Divided against itself, its Kaiser inaugurating his reign by making war and raid on the bravest of his own subjects, and following it up by a forty years' war, carried on against the only power, the Papacy, from which the Infidels had any thing like serious and well-combined resistance to apprehend,—what other fate could have awaited Germany but a repetition of that which left it a captive and a tributary for six-and-thirty years under the hoofs of the Hungarians, not for a moment to be compared to the Turkish and Saracenic powers? What could even martial France have done but succumb?—battling in vain, while her King, wallowing in a double adultery, never emerged from the sty of brutality but to exhibit himself in the character of a brigand, plundering the Italian and Levantine merchants who came for honourable traffic in the open fairs of his realm, under the conviction—not

unnatural—that the monarch's arm would be lifted not to pillage, but to protect them? The Spaniards were performing feats of valour in the right direction, but even Spanish valour could not perform impossibilities. Already they had in front of them an overwhelming infidel force, while the inexhaustible reserves in Africa, which, in A. D. 1106, reconquered Saragossa, were, we may say, preparing to embark. As for England, it was one great field of carnage, flight and desolation, at that juncture. The Conqueror was only intent on establishing peace by creating a solitude, and until the vanguard of the Saracens should tread on Normandy, not a man would William have allowed from England. But for the policy of Hildebrand, there was nothing impracticable in the junction on the Rhone of the Moors of Africa with their brethren of Asia, after a promenade through Europe. From thence, a few marches, with far less to disturb their array than even Charles VIII. was met by in an after age,—and the muezin's call might have summoned the devout Moslem to St. Peter's as it does to St. Sophia's or the Temple. The Arab robbers might have used as a horse-trough the tombs of the martyrs. He has no correct notion of what the Europe of the 11th century was, who considers this an overstatement of the danger.

But at the summons of Hildebrand, proclaimed by Urban II. at Piacenza and at Clermont, one million enthusiastic Christian soldiers started into arms, and from that instant the conquest of Europe, by any

infidel or other power on earth, became impossible.*

As illustrations of the wonders the might and enterprise that are in man are capable of accomplishing, the career of Alexander, of Cæsar, or of Napoleon is literally as dust in the balance when compared with the first crusade. At a time when the sciences which smoothed the path of conquest for these three favourites of renown lay buried in the oblivion of the past or in the womb of futurity, that medley of feudal hordes,—without artillery, without a commissariat, without so much as a map of their march across two continents, with an intervening sea between them:

* "Besides his court and council of Roman Cardinals, Urban was supported at Clermont," says Gibbon, "by thirteen archbishops and two hundred and twenty-five bishops; the number of mitred prelates was computed at four hundred; and the fathers of the Church were blessed by the saints, and enlightened by the doctors of the age. From the adjacent kingdoms a martial train of lords and knights of power and renown attended the Council, in high expectation of its resolves; and such was the ardour of zeal and curiosity, that the city was filled, and many thousands, in the month of November, erected their tents or huts in the open fields. A session of eight days produced some useful and edifying canons for the reformation of manners; a severe censure was pronounced against the licence of private war; the "truce of God" was confirmed, a suspension of hostilities during four days of the week; women and priests were placed under the safeguard of the Church; and a protection of three years was extended to husbandmen and merchants, the defenceless victims of military rapine."—*History of Decline and Fall, &c.* Vol. 7, c. 58, p. 224.

with little or nothing of so much that a general in our days would insist on as indispensable, but with a FAITH that nothing could resist,—the bands of the first Crusade had fought their way to a city, and taken it, five times as far from the Rhine as Moscow is from Paris. They had accomplished in an incredibly short period of time, (considering the difficulties of distance, seas and rivers to be crossed, pitched battles to be fought, and strong cities to be taken,) such an enterprize as it would hardly enter into the serious thoughts of any general of the present age to attempt with 300,000 men,—supposing the line of march to be the same that was taken by the crusaders, and the resistance to be relatively equal.

The first Crusade was exclusively the achievement of the Pontiff and the people, with the princes of the second order. No crowned head took part in it. Henry IV. was warring against the Church; the King of France, wallowing in the sty of his passions, was abandoned to crimes over which history is compelled to cast a veil. Yet after this Crusade, organised by the genius of Hildebrand, led by Godefroy de Bouillon, the Christians were masters of Tarsus in Cilicia, of Edessa in Mesopotamia, of Antioch in Syria, of Jerusalem, of Joppa, of Cæsarea, of Ptolemais in Palestine. The Greek Emperor, from being shut up in his capital, was in a position to carry the war with vigour into the enemy's country: to win battles, and wrest cities and whole provinces from the infidels: and his son, John Com-

nenus, succeeding him in A. D. 1118, was enabled to follow up these advantages by a brilliant career of conquest. In A.D. 1104, there was formed a grand coalition of the Christian princes of the East. Bohemond, prince of Antioch; Tancredi, lord of Laodicea and Apamëa; Baldwin, count of Edessa, and his cousin Joscelin, seigneur of Turbessel, uniting their forces, crossed the Euphrates; and had it not been for the old feudal leaven which caused them to fall to rivalries and disputes amongst themselves, there is no telling to what extent they might not have carried their successes. So long as they held together no power in Asia was able to stand before them. In short, but for the Crusades, conceived and set on foot by Hildebrand, for many centuries the Crescent must have been floating over the length and breadth of Europe. In the 12th and not in the 15th century would be found the date of the taking of Constantinople by the Turks; and coming upon it four hundred years sooner, the onslaught of the Sultans, (which shook Europe to its centre in the age of Charles V. and from which it was saved only by miracle in the days of John Sobieski,) must have inevitably borne everything before it.

Nor was it alone that they rolled back the rapidly advancing billows of Moslem invasion thus threatening to submerge the West: the Crusades were the cause of an almost sudden and astonishing amelioration of the internal condition of Christendom. They relieved it of that delirium for blood and rapine and

battle, manifesting itself in feudal conflicts, which was its greatest curse, and an insuperable bar to all social or intellectual progress. "Warriors who hear me," said Urban II. at Clermont, giving utterance to the injunctions of the dying Hildebrand,—"Warriors, you are incessantly on the look-out for vain pretexts for war—rejoice! for behold before you now, a war that is lawful and just. The moment has arrived to test whether yours is a genuine courage; the moment has arrived for expiating so many scenes of violence enacted in the bosom of peace, so many victories tarnished by injustice. Let those arms unjustly employed in massacreing one another, be turned to repel the enemy of the Christian name. You who were so often the terror of your fellow-citizens, and who sold for vile hire your arms that the fury of another might wield them, armed now with the sword of the Maccabees, go defend the House of Israel, which is the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts: go and chastise the insolence of the infidels who aim at subjugating all realms and empires; and at extinguishing Christianity. There is no longer question of avenging injuries inflicted on mortals, but outrages offered to the Almighty: there is no longer question of the capture of a town or a castle, but of the deliverance of the holy places. If you triumph, the benedictions of heaven and the kingdoms of Asia will be your portion; if you fall, you will have the glory of dying in the same place as your Redeemer, and that

God whose eye will be on you when you are bravely fighting a battle which is for His glory, will not forget you. In the interim, we take under the protection of the Church, and of the holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, those who shall engage in this holy enterprise; we order that their persons and properties shall be held inviolate, that if any one shall have the hardihood to molest either the one or the other, the same shall be excommunicated by the bishop of the place; and bishops and priests who shall be found backward in this behalf shall be *ipso facto* suspended from their functions,—not to be absolved but by the holy See.

" Soldiers of the living God, let no dastardly or profane hankerings of the flesh keep you clinging to your hearths. Be deaf to every thing but to the moans of Sion; burst asunder all earthly ties, and remember what the Lord has said: 'He who loves his father or his mother more than me, is not worthy of me;—whoever will abandon home, or kindred, or inheritance for my name's sake, shall be recompensed an hundred fold, and shall possess life everlasting.' "

At these words of the Pontiff there burst forth from the immense assemblage with one voice and with the force of thunder reverberating through the surrounding mountains, as time after time they took up the shout, " DIEU LO VOLT!"—God wills it! Then the Pope raising his eyes towards heaven, and waving his hand for silence, continued thus: " My brethren, you to-day behold the accomplishment of this word

of our Lord, that where his own are assembled in his name, there will he be in the midst of them; for had you not been inspired by him, all of you could not have cried out with one and the same voice. Let these words then 'Dieu lo volt!' be henceforward your cry of war, and may it everywhere announce the presence of the God of armies." Then after defining the categories of individuals to whom it was not allowed to take the cross, Pope Urban concludes thus: "This emblem worn upon your breasts shall be the sign raised amongst the nations for reuniting the dispersed children of the house of Israel; bear it on your shoulders and on your breasts; let it glitter on your arms and on your standards: it shall be for you the pledge of victory or of the palm of martyrdom; it will recall incessantly to your minds that Jesus Christ died for you, and that you ought to die for him."*

Here the hornbook in which St. Paul studied Christianity is made familiar to all. "God forbid," says the Apostle, "that I should glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." From this hour forth, the sentiment of St. Paul, though in inferior brightness and intensity, passes into the minds of the Christian nations. The grand affair of the age, the enthusiasm, the hopes, the emotions which are strongest in humanity, and which by their

* Vid. Baron. ad. an. 1095.

impetuosity precipitated one continent on another, all tend to concentrate the thoughts, the affections, the reveries, the most rapturous flights of the soul of Europe, on that which is the fountain head of all Christian perfection, *viz.* meditation on the passion and death of the Redeemer. St. Paul "judged himself to know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified:"—that similar was the study of the Christian nations during the epoch of the Crusades, is not merely a conjecture: it is a fact registered in every production of that most creative period, as may be seen not only in the literary monuments of those ages, but also in those of the arts,—as of painting, sculpture, but pre-eminently in that holy alliance of all the arts which we behold in those unapproachable triumphs of Christian genius and enthusiasm—the great cathedrals of the West. A meditation the most sublime, the most ecstatic, and the most tender, obtains an expression exquisite, complete, imperishable, in their materials, as fashioned by an art that draws its life and inspiration from Christianity. The sublime, irresistible, onward march of Christian Europe, begins with the first Crusade; and as the Pope after Hildebrand's own heart, who issued the word of command at Clermont said, the watchword came from heaven when the voice of the people broke forth in the acclamation—"GOD WILLS IT!" Investigate the history of letters, of arts, of commerce, of genuine liberty—(a blessing utterly unknown to antiquity)—through every one of these

avenues you are led back to the same centre—the age of Hildebrand. The more you examine and master the whole subject, the more firmly will you become convinced that, between the starting point for modern Europe and the overthrow of the Pagan empire of the Cæsars, there are interposed—in the first place, a Barbaro-Romanze empire founded by Leo III. in the person of Charlemagne, which gathering up the fragments (then comparatively uninjured) of the ancient world and rudely combining them with the barbarian elements then in all their wildness and freshness, established amidst the until then universal chaos, the first stratum of the social structure which as it stands is the greatest wonder under the sun; and in the next place, the utter destruction of all that was merely governmental in that Carlovingian system. It is from the chaos into which this system was hurled down as into some frightful abyss,—by the conflict of races within itself, and by the three terrific invasions of the Northmans the Saracens and the Hungarians, from without,—that the new order of things of which, (with the manifest aid, and under the auspices of the Most High,) Pope Hildebrand was the author: that the movement, FORWARD, in every thing,—in the cultivation of languages, of science, of arts, commercial enterprise, discoveries, civil government, military discipline, (carried to perfection by the Crusaders and the military orders, both by sea and land)—in a word, that whatever is comprehended in

the term Christian civilization takes its beginning. This is an axiom which no historical scholar will venture to question.

All the artifices of that sophistry in which Gibbon was such a master, are exhausted in misrepresenting the Crusades: nevertheless, the fact of their being not only promotive of the security of the West, but even indispensable for its defence, was a fact too manifest for even his art to disguise it. After pleading the apology of the Mahomedans, and eulogizing the Koran, he continues thus: "But it cannot be denied, that the Oriental churches are depressed under the Mahomedan yoke: that in peace and war the Moslems assert a divine and indefeasible claim of universal empire: and that in their orthodox creed, the unbelieving nations are continually threatened with the loss of religion and liberty. In the 11th century, the victorious arms of the Turks presented a real and urgent apprehension of these losses. They had subdued in less than thirty years, the kingdoms of Asia as far as Jerusalem and the Hellespont; and the Greek empire tottered on the verge of destruction. Besides an honest sympathy for their brethren, the Latins had a right and interest in the support of Constantinople, the most important barrier of the West; and the privilege of defence must reach to prevent, as well as to repel an impending assault."*

* Hist. of Decline and Fall, &c. vol. vii. c. 58. p. 226. In order, as his wont is, to damage the truth and throw odium on the Popes even for saving Europe, he adds: "*But* this salutary

"Great was the increase, and rapid the progress of civilization," says Gibbon, "during the two hundred years of the Crusades; and some *philosophers*, have applauded the propitious influence of these holy wars." Gibbon was shamed into the recognition of the "great increase and rapid progress of civilization" following from the Crusades,—partly by the impossibility of disguising the fact, and partly by seeing the plain irresistible view as to the advantages conferred on Europe by the Crusades, espoused by such "philosophers" as Robertson. An angel from heaven might be scoffed at, but a "philosopher" allowing the utility of "these holy wars" was truly embarrassing; and Gibbon's contortions to get out of the dilemma are nothing short of ludicrous. From his principles it would follow that to enlarge, to polish and adorn the mind, there is nothing so effectual as to keep young gentlemen confined rigorously to the mews, the cock-pit, the kennel, and the ring—never on any account allowing them to travel. The admissions come from him like drops of blood: but, nevertheless, they come. "The larger portion

purpose might have been accomplished by a moderate succour" —leaving the conclusion to the reader that the Popes in sending more than a "moderate succour," were guilty of a wanton waste of life. Had he said that half a dozen war-steamers sent to the Dardanelles, and a few regiments with a strong park of artillery would have sufficed, the remark would not be more preposterous and inapplicable to the *realities* of the case than the one he uses—to throw dust in the eyes of his reader.

* Hist. of Decline and Fall, &c. vol. vii. ch. 61. p. 431.

of the inhabitants of Europe," he continues, "was chained to the soil, without freedom, or property, or knowledge; and the two orders of ecclesiastics and nobles, whose numbers were comparatively small, alone deserved the name of citizens and men. This oppressive system was supported by the acts of the clergy (Hildebrand and his successors to wit!) and the swords of the barons. THE AUTHORITY OF THE PRIESTS OPERATED IN THE DARKER AGES AS A SALUTARY ANTIDOTE; THEY PREVENTED THE TOTAL EXTINCTION OF LETTERS, MITIGATED THE FIERCENESS OF THE TIMES, SHELTERED THE POOR AND DEFENCELESS, AND PRESERVED OR REVIVED THE PEACE AND ORDER OF CIVIL SOCIETY.* But the independence, rapine, and discord of the feudal lords, were unmixed with any semblance of good, and every hope of industry and improvement was crushed by the iron weight of the martial aristocracy. Among the causes that undermine that Gothic edifice, a conspicuous place must be allowed to the Crusades. The estates of the barons were dissipated, and their race was often extinguished, in these costly and perilous expeditions. Their poverty extorted from their pride those charters of freedom which unlocked the fetters of the slave, secured the farm of the peasant and the shop of the artificer, and gradually restored a substance and a soul to the most numerous and useful part of the community. The

* Not a bad character, considering it is from a "philosopher."

conflagration which destroyed the tall and barren trees of the forest, gave air and scope to the vegegation of the smaller and native plants of the soil."*

The importance, therefore, of the pontificate of Gregory VII., as the grand climacteric and turning point in Christian history, must be our apology to the reader for having entered more widely and deeply, as well into the reign of anarchy by which the genius of Hildebrand was provoked into action, (one of the premises, we may say, of which mediæval and modern history is the conclusion,) as into the investigation, from historical sources, of his real policy and character: in order that a mere chimera,—such as the popular or standard library Hildebrand undoubtedly is,—might no longer usurp the place of that matter of fact personage whose genius created a new era,—a grand era for Italy—and has not ceased even at the distance of seven centuries, to make itself visibly and potently felt. Should anything further be required to excuse the digression, (if such we can call it,) it will be found, in this consideration:—having dis-

* Ubi supra. After such an admission in favour of the crusades, Gibbon's efforts to write them down can only have one effect on such of his readers as know how to think—as have studied the "ars cogitandi;" yet this is a fair sample of his work throughout. It was as truly as tersely characterized by M. Guizot, when he described the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire as one vast "misrepresentation."

tinctly and once for all ascertained the position of the Papacy in its world-wide relations, restored as they were to their ancient footing by Hildebrand—we are in a better position to comprehend the civil history of the States, and to pursue our object with less risk of distraction. This we can do the more calmly, having fully satisfied ourselves of the fact, that the relations of the Papacy with the world at large, are carried on in the same spirit from this period to the opening of the fourteenth century,—or up to the period not unjustly designated the captivity of Avignon,—as if St. Gregory VII. were throughout the whole period at the head of affairs. There is a uniformity far more striking as to every thing connected with the administration of the Catholic world, during the two hundred and seventy years from the rise of Hildebrand to the demise of Benedict XI., than any that can be discovered in our own political system during a single ministry,—no matter by which of the two great parties formed, that alternately place themselves at the helm of the state. As we see an Urban II., a Calixtus II., an Adrian IV., an Alexander III., an Innocent III., an Innocent IV., a Gregory X., a Boniface VIII., come in succession upon the historic scene, under trials and in emergencies of the greatest importance and perplexity, we often detect ourselves exclaiming, "How like Hildebrand is that!"—"Were Gregory VII. himself there he could not have said it, or planned it, nor achieved it better!"

CHAPTER III.

We have the memoirs of Pope Victor III., the immediate successor of Gregory VII., very fully and charmingly written by his disciple Leo Ostiensis, who, himself of a noble family of the Marsi, and brought up from his early youth under the care of this Pope, while as yet only a monk of Monte Casino, was destined in due time to become as Cardinal-archbishop of Ostia, Dean of the Sacred College, and one of the greatest ornaments and defenders of the Apostolic see.

Dauferius,—for that was the name, Pope Victor III., that was to be, received at baptism,—was born heir to the noble principality of Benevento. While he was yet in the first flower of youth, his father, the then reigning prince, the more firmly to bind him to a secular life, insisted on his entering into espousals, with a view to his future marriage, with a princess still younger than himself, and of equally exalted lineage. But Dauferius, on his father being slain in an encounter with the Normans, resolved to seize the long sighed for opportunity of forsaking the world and consecrating himself entirely to God; and

having prevailed on one Jacinto, a monk, to lend him his assistance, he lost not a moment, but in the manner following endeavoured to attain to the object of his pious wishes.

Whereupon, of a certain day as it was verging towards evening, the young prince and Jacinto having mounted their horses, rode forth, as if for recreation, through the gates of Benevento, followed only by a few attendants. There was a little church dedicated to the blessed Peter, not very far from the city by the wayside. Here, the prince and the monk alighted, and leaving their horses and young Daufrey's sword in charge of the attendants, went into the chapel as if to pray. And sure enough, they knelt before the altar, bowing down—and right fervently, and long they prayed; but in rising, it was not by the way they entered they now left the chapel. There was a postern-door—posterula—to this little sanctuary, and passing through this they were at once in a trackless forest. A walk of only eight short miles should have brought them to their journey's aim, but what with the trepidation excited by their adventure and the suddenly descending shades of night, it was not until morning dawned that at length, well wearied with straying far from their path amongst the mountain and forest solitudes, they came to where a holy hermit, to whom the young prince was attached as to a father, had his cell. Great was the joy and not less the wonder of Santaro,—so was the hermit called,—when his eyes alighted on the

young prince and his companion. He led them to his cell, cherished the princely youth with the greatest tenderness—wayworn as he was—and began to inquire what errand could have brought them in such guise and at such an hour? With no ordinary emotion did he listen to the glowing words in which this youth so noble,—so courted by the world, the heir to such a principality, told his errand; nor could the holy eremite be induced to clothe him in the coarse and lowly garb, for which Daufrey was intent on exchanging his princely costume, until after entreaties on his part long and earnestly renewed—*ipso maximè insistente.*

The prince's attendants, in the mean time, having long expected his return as they waited with the horses and sword in front of St. Peter's chapel, when night-fall was coming on at length went in; and not finding either their youthful lord or Jacinto, but seeing the postern wide open towards the forest, remounting in haste, they galloped back at full speed to the city, told with wringing of hands, with sobs and tears, what had happened, and their terror on finding that postern open towards the forest. All that night was passed by the prince's mother in floods of tears; but as for his kinsmen and those of his betrothed, the morning light had not yet broke when they were riding at speed, dispersed over the whole country, in search of the missing Daufrey. For a long time all their diligence was vain. Baffled, and unable to find any trace

whatever to guide their inquiries, they gathered together, and calling to mind in their deliberations, how glowing was his piety, and how pure beyond all of his rank and years had been his life, what had really come of Daufrey at once flashed upon their minds. They come, therefore, at full gallop to the door of Santaro's hermitage, burst it open with violence—*violenter ingressi.* Before them stands their prince, their Daufrey, the hope and darling of his people! But vehement is the rage with which they see him transformed into a monk. The holy servant of God, Santaro, they overwhelm with all sorts of insults and with torrents of invective; then laying hands with but little reverence on the sacred habit with which Daufrey, (or Desiderius as he was called in religion,) was invested, they not only tore it off him, but made pieces of it before his face, obliging him to resume his princely robes. They then placed him on horseback, and with two of the strongest, one on each side of him with a hold of the bridle, they rode back to Benevento with shouts and songs of triumph, as if returning laden with spoils from some great victory. But imprisonment in his own palace, the threats and entreaties of his kinsmen and his mother, combined with the dazzling allurements of the crown they were for forcing on his noble brow and the blandishments of his high-born and blooming sposa, who with trembling sighs and tears besought him not to leave her—nothing in short in this transitory, and at that time most wicked

world, (when it might be said that again "all flesh had corrupted its way,") could withhold him from his purpose. The steps—all marked with interest and graphically recorded as he had himself rehearsed them to his young disciple—by which Daufrey, prince of Benevento, becomes Abbot Desiderius of Monte Casino, we hurry over unnoticed, and come to glance at his works upon the summit of that towering and holy mountain; for in them we have pictures at once the most luminous and authentic of that memorable transition age.

By his biographer and disciple, Leo Marsicanus or Leo Ostiensis (as he is indifferently named in history), Abbot Desiderius is entitled the fourth restorer of Monte Casino, which we may say was the Horeb of monasticism in the West. "First," he says, "was our great father St. Benedict, who founded it; second was Petronax (who was sent by St. Gregory II., to restore it after it had been destroyed by the Lombards). Algerinus, sent by Agapitus II. to restore it after its destruction by the Saracens, was the third, and the fourth restorer was Desiderius."* He was elected abbot, on the 13th of the kalends of May, A.D. 1058, all hearts brimming over with sweet consolation at the event, and with raptures not to be uttered—*universis immensa lætitia et jucunditate repletis.* And throughout his administration he worked and strove with might and main for this

* Quartus hujus loci restitutor, Chron. Cas. L. 3. c. 1. Rer. Ital. Scrip.

single object that the grandeur of Monte Casino in itself and in the merits of its community, should not be an empty boast but a matter of fact.*

In the 28th chapter of the third book of his Chronicle, Leo of the Marsi thus begins:—"When, therefore, the venerable abbot looked around, and saw that, through the merits of our ever-blessed father Benedict, the prosperity was great, and the peace unbroken in which we lived—for in such honour was he held, that not only the lesser folk, but also the highest, dukes and princes from far and near, looked up to him as to a common father, and were delighted to bow to him as to their lord, and to anticipate his wishes—the notion came upon him, and not without suggestion from above, to throw down the old monastery, and, in its stead, erect a new one, far more august, and, as he hoped it, and as it afterwards turned out, to be a perfect miracle of architectural majesty combined with artistic elegance and completeness in every part. Sore discontented were our priors, for the most part, at this proposal of the abbot. It was the general conviction that he was embarking in what was beyond the means at his command. Begin to build, he might, but how could he ever hope to finish? Both argument and entreaty were exhausted to divert him

* Igitur abbatiâ susceptâ Desiderius cœpit modis omnibus studere atque satagere ut quod dicebatur dici veraciter posset. L. 3. c. 10. p. 420. Mr. Carlisle would say of Victor III. that he was no "sham," that he was in "earnest," and a "working hero."

† Ib. p. 413.

from his purpose. But he who could not be persuaded to retain his princedom was not now, in the full maturity of age, to be easily turned from what he was undertaking for the divine glory. His trust, he said, was in that God who is Almighty, and who fails not to aid such enterprises as in all purity of intention are undertaken for His sake."

A miniature library, (for before his time the collection of books was but scanty,) was strictly speaking his first essay in building. This gave him courage to attack a ruinous old fabric, the residence or palatium of the abbots, as it was called. Stuck up against the north side of the basilica, it formed a most unsightly object, and was only kept from toppling over the precipice on the verge of which it rather nodded than stood erect, by being propped up with a whole forest of decaying timbers having their branches on, and overgrown with the parasitical foliage and tendrils of wild vines and ivy,—so as to impart to the entire the appearance of a tangled mass of trees prostrated by a tempest, and partly shrouded in their decay by leafy underwood and flowers.

Next, taking down the old refectory, (built in a most awkward manner with its side close up to the basilica, and its front to the chapter-house,) he built a new one, 95 cubits by 23, at right angles with the south portico of the paradise,—so as to form one side of the new cloister, which formed one of the chief features of his plan. The height of the new refectory was 50 cubits. It had a tiled roof, which, on the inside, was made resplendent with gilding and

lackered work, as rich in brilliancy of tints as it was in the caprices imaged there by a fancy—exquisite, teeming and quaint—delighted at having found such a field, in which to disport itself without restraint of rule or order.

This hall was embellished in every part by the pictorial art, which dealt at that time in the richest and most glowing colours, usually set off by enamelled work and gilding—*diversisque totum coloribus pictorum artificio composit.* The tribune for the monk who read to the community during their repasts, (always taken in silence,) was high, and was rendered conspicuous by the brilliancy of its materials and adornments, being very elegantly inlaid with gypsum—*legivum quoque pulcherrimum et eminens in eo constituit, quod valde decenter gipso vestitum, cunctis spectabile reddit.* At the east end was the entrance, and at the opposite one stood the ample cross-table of the Lord Abbot, with,—rising above it like a canopy,—the absis, of which the mosaic work was of surpassing beauty. The refectory was lighted by windows, twenty-four in number; fourteen of them opening towards the genial south; three of them were in the pulpit recess, which it is likely was of hexagonal form; the two end windows of the hall were circular. Looking towards the north there were but seven; but throughout the glass and gypsum were secured, as in the basilica, by sashes of lead set in strong iron casements.

A little to the south of the refectory was the

kitchen,—very large—its roof of arches interlaced, resting on one huge pillar in the centre. It was connected by a corridor with the refectory, but the corridor, instead of a door in the east end as a communication between it and the dining-hall, had only an opening like a window. This opening, ornamented in keeping with the rest of the hall, and exactly opposite the abbot's chair at the further or west end, was adjusted with a sort of tray or counter, on which the dishes being deposited by the attendants of the kitchen, were thence taken by the novices, whose office it was, according to their turn, to serve at table. The cellars and pantries were so placed as that the cooks and the others charged with their care were saved all loss of time or other inconvenience in resorting to them or in returning. "As for the bakery, which was hard by the outer gate, of such an imposing aspect and proportions was that edifice," says the chronicler, "that pilgrims coming hither used to enter its portals, at once, in the fancy it was the church."*

The dormitory was his next care. But in erecting it, Desiderius being anxious to gain as much

* "Pistrinam quoque tanto decore construxit, ut multi peregrinorum huc venientium, ignorantes quasi ad ecclesiam sæpius illuc oraturi convenerint." How worthy of pity will not such ignorance of *pauper* nature as is here displayed by Leo Ostiensis, appear to an Irish paid guardian of A.D. 1849,—the third of the artificial famine, or to the master of the workhouse where Oliver Twist—horresco referens! "asked for more"—porridge?

scope as possible for his new cloisters,—of which this structure was to form another side,—he cast its foundations much further out over the mountain's brow: taking care, however, to have the latter faced up so with substructures of the most solid masonry and massive buttresses, as at top to secure a spacious, firm, and uniform plain, on which the new dormitory might be securely erected.

The dormitory itself of 200 cubits long by 24 in width and 30 in height, had windows only towards the south, twenty in number, of which the three centre ones—the longest of all—had each three marble columns. Like the refectory it was adorned with paintings—*et pictorum artificio coloribus decorata.* At one end of this building he placed a vestry or robing-room for the monks, not large, certainly; but still sufficiently so for its object, and handsome.

All this took the abbot three years to finish. Before he commenced the chapter-house, which was to stand—forming a third side of the cloisters—between the dormitory and the south transept of the basilica, he had the interior levelled and cleared away,—quarrying away the mountain top to an average depth of seven cubits, over the entire area of 105 by 49 cubits. In the frontispiece of the chapter-house, the interior angle of which touched the exterior angle of the transept, while its absis nearly joined the east end of the dormitory, there were only three windows—round ones; in the absis, only two; while

on each side — 53 cubits long — it had nine extremely elegant windows of glass. Its width was 20, its height 18 cubits, and from pavement to roof it was decorated in a style the most beautiful and resplendent—*laqueari et pavimento seu picturis pretiossissimis sufficientissimè decorata:* another MS. reads *pulcherrimis.*

From the time of raising the substructures for the dormitory, there had remained on the inner or north side of it, by which the cloister was to be bounded (on the south), an immense chasm. In this chasm Desiderius had a vast cistern or tank constructed of arched work, and filled up the interstices with stones and rubbish. Thus was the entire area of the cloisters at length brought to a level.

Round about this fine spacious piazza he formed the "deambulatorium" for the monks to walk in while they exercised—meditating or reciting prayers. It consisted of an open arcade on the four sides of the quadrangle, which was 105 cubits by 75, the arches being sustained by 110 columns of marble, and the pavement throughout being tesselated in the finest style of Byzantine art. The walls and ceilings and roof were decorated with pictured scenes, as well from Holy Writ as from the legends of the saints. As the roof of the "deambulatorium" only came on a level with the plane of the basilica and the paradise, two staircases of marble were constructed,—the one of thirteen steps leading from the refectory, the other

of fifteen steps leading from the chapter-house to the basilica: both being in keeping as to decoration with all the rest of the edifice.

He next had the "solarium" of the palace, (commenced by abbot Richerius and finished by himself,) brought down to the level of the cloister, and having provided it with baths and every other requisite to make it agreeable, he appointed it as a place of repose and quiet for the infirm and aged monks—"*inibi cum balneo et cæteris opportunitatibus, infirmorum fratrum quietem constituit.*"

Towards the south, that is, on the cistern side of the cloister, he arranged the cells for novices, where, apart from all distraction and from the rest of the community, they might attend to meditation and every other exercise, in strict conformity with the Regular Institute, that is, with the Rule of St. Benedict; and thus did he at length set at rest the scruples and complaints of the fathers presiding over this department of the novitiate,—sadly put out of their way as they had been and interfered with, by so much distraction, noise, and commotion, as of necessity took place during the building. But now they felt more than compensated in this admirable retreat,—so tranquil, so sequestered, so pleasant, and in every respect so commodious—provided for them by their wise and loving father's solicitude. So to respond in a manner worthy of such kindness and of their vocation, tenfold became their assiduity in forming their disciples in most scrupulous conformity

with the Benedictine institute, and in enkindling their zeal and piety, and at the same time habituating them to regulate both according to order, and to the dictates of the wisdom which is from above.*

Finally, having completed whatever could render the monastery in all its departments perfect, he girded up his loins for the last effort, to surround and fence in the entire by a strong bastioned wall and towers of defence, after the fashion of a fortified city.† The gate tower was of immense height, and presented in its solidity the appearance of one solid rock, so admirably joined and finished as the cut stone of which it was constructed. There was in it a large apartment for the warders and those who kept a look out. Quarrying down hills of rock, and filling up the yawning chasms of the mountain, he caused the verdant and flowering meadow, the shade of trees, and the most delightful gardens, to replace the wild medley of barren precipices and tangled underwood, that grew there from of old. The abbey gates and those of the adjacent city he connected by a wide and pleasant winding road.

* Sicque jam tandem fratres, qui eatenus super tot operibus inquietati ac molestati plusquam satis extiterant, oportuna, simul et amena quietis statione locatos, (the murmuring of the adjacent fountain assisted the meditation it courted), ordine de cætero regulari, quanto ordinatius tanto districtius operam dare perdocuit. Ubi supr.

† Itaque demum hinc inde muro continuo ac propugnaculis, civitatûm more munito, universum monasterium circumsepsit, etc.

Outside the enclosure stood the xenodochium, or hospice for the poor and for pilgrims,—its portals lying hospitably open, always, and its corps of attendant monks in readiness, by night and by day, to welcome, to solace and have a tender care for both corporal and spiritual wants, and sorrows of all who resorted thither. Within the precinct was the palatium for crowned heads, such as kings, queens, and emperors,—whom we often meet with either ascending or descending, with their regal escorts and retinues, from the abbey gates.*

But all these architectural wonders, rising like a diadem upon that mountain's summit, were but the rich framework and chasing in which the basilica of St. Benedict was set as the chief, central, and most sparkling jewel, to which all the rest had reference. Though we have ventured to take it a little out of its place in the pages of the Chronicler, we durst not venture to give the description in other than his own words.

"In the year, therefore, of his own ordination, the ninth, but of the Divine incarnation, one thou-

* Beginning with Totila, and ending with the Othos, with Henry II., the empress Agnes, mother of the ill-fated Henry IV., and the assemblage we shall meet with by and by at the dedication,—it would be easy to form such a list of the mighty ones of this world, both in church and state, visitors or pilgrims to the summit of that great pyramid of the west, (out-topping that of Egypt, as a mountain doth a mole hill,) as would read like a riddle not easy to solve, by those who cast a look compounded of scorn and bewilderment at the "Ages of Faith."

sand and sixty-six, in March, the fourth indiction, (while William the Conqueror was preparing for the invasion of England) having previously erected a small church hard by the infirmary and dedicated to St. Peter—where, in the interim, the brethren might meet for the divine offices—the old church of St. Benedict, altogether too confined and too mean for such a treasure as was reposed within, and for a community so numerous, he had taken down to the foundations. And because the tempests were wont to wreck their violence upon the old building, and the lightnings to strike it from the clouds—because it was perched on the sharp summit of the mountain—placing his trust in God, though the attempt appeared chimerical, with the force of iron and of fire applied to them, he so completely shattered and removed the rocks, that, where the towering and rugged crags had previously out-topped all else, was reduced to a sunken and extensive plateau, as a basis for the new church."

Having placed over the building those brethren in whose zeal and intelligence he confided, to urge it forward with might and main, he set out for Rome himself; and calling on the many there who were bound to him by most devoted friendship, through them, and with the gold which he paid out with no sparing hand, he procured of columns, plinths, capitals—*lilia**—and of marble of all colours, a great

* Vid. 3rd Book of Kings vii. 2. Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 3. and Vitruv. l. iv. c. 3.

quantity. And having brought them first to Porto by the Tiber, and thence by sea to Torre Garigliano (given to him not long before, by Ricardo, first Norman prince of Capua)—with a courage that no difficulties could daunt, he floated them on rafts up the river as far as Suio, and from thence brought them to this place on wains, and with labour not to be described. "And that your admiration of the fervour of the countless crowds of the faithful who gathered to this work, know," says Leo (who looked out from that towering throne of St. Benedict, as he was penning these words)—" know, that they insisted on carrying the first column by the sole strength of their arms and on their shoulders, up from the bottom to the top of this mountain, ere as yet the Almighty had put it into the heart of Desiderius to make that spacious winding road he afterwards made, and while there was but a path narrow, precipitous, and rocky, up the steep."*

" The plain for the church having been completely levelled, all but the approach, which was an after work, and all sorts of materials being now ready in great abundance, the most skilful artificers were forthwith assembled here from Amalfi and from among the Lombards ; and the foundations being laid in the name of Christ, he began the church. Its length was 150 cubits, its width forty-three, its height

* Mount Casino, of a sugar-loaf shape, and exceedingly steep, wants but little of being as high as Snowdon.

twenty-eight.* There was a colonnade of ten columns on each side of the nave, and in the clerestory above were windows, fine and large: twenty-one in the nave (ten on each side, and one over the west entrance): in the title (the same as chancel or transept) there were six long windows, and four round ones, and in the middle absis (the same as the tribune) two. The side aisles were fifteen cubits high and were lighted, each with ten windows.

The tomb of St. Benedict placed in the aditum, through reverence he would not disturb, but had it incrusted with the richest marbles, so as to cause its beauty to arrest the admiration of those entering the church. "Moreover, in the greater absis he erected the altars of St. John the Baptist, exactly under where Father Benedict had placed it in the primæval church, —that is, towards the east side; while that of the blessed Mother of God was towards the south. The blessed Pope Gregory's altar was towards the north. Close to this he constructed a double chamber for the treasures of the ecclesiastical ministry, and connected with this latter apartment, which is usually called a sacristy, (because of the sacred vessels, utensils, and ornaments that are deposited in it,) he constructed another for the ministers of the altar to vest in and

* That thunder cloud-capped mountain is not the place for lofty domes or sky-piercing spires. Shortly before we visited the place the organ keys, we were told, had been consumed under the fingers of the monk who was performing at high mass without the slightest injury to the organist himself.

prepare themselves. In order to enlarge the space for the church, he had already given up no small part of his own chamber, he now caused the rest of it to be thrown into this sacristy, so as to make it much more spacious and beautiful than the old one. Next came the little chapel of St. Nicholas,—small indeed but very elegant. The entire interval between it and the extreme front of the basilica, was occupied by the oratory of the blessed Bartholomew the Apostle. In front of this, and near the grand entrance of the basilica, he constructed a very wonderful tower of cut stone, called a belfry.

"Then as you approach the front entrance, he formed an 'Atrium,' or as the Romans call it, a Paradise, in length seventy-seven cubits and a half, forty-seven and a half in width. It was surrounded by a portico fifteen and a half cubits high: the two front colonnades consisting of four, the lateral ones of eight columns each. On the south side of the paradise he built a fountain upon arches, and on the north side, at each corner, he placed two chapels that looked like towers—one dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel, the other to the blessed prince of the Apostles, St. Peter. And because in the front of the paradise the mountain was steep and broken, he had it connected with the level part below, by a flight of four-and-twenty marble steps, thirty-six cubits wide.

"Meanwhile his envoys had set off to Constantinople to bring the ablest masters of the mosaic art,

and of the art called quadrituria,—or setting of tesselated pavements,—that the absis, the triumphal arch (between the nave and chancel), and the vestibule of the greater basilica, might be by them adorned in the highest perfection, and the pavement of the entire formed in marble and stones of divers colours. But to what an exquisite degree of excellence those Byzantines had attained in their various branches, we may judge (continues the chronicler), from an inspection of their works, in which the figures of all sorts of animals, and of flowers and plants, are made to look,—though formed from fragments of marble,—as if the former were instinct with life and motion: the latter with a bloom and a verdure, fresh and balmy as if imparted by the hand of nature.* For well nigh five hundred years, had these arts disappeared from amongst the Latins, when this model of prudence, with the aid of the Almighty, took measures that no such calamity should happen for the future; for, selecting from the monastery a great many of the most gifted youths, he had them initiated in these arts: and not in those only but in all the others that work in gold, silver, bronze, iron, glass, ivory, wood, gypsum,

* Quarum artium tunc ei destinati magistri, cujus perfectionis extiterint in earum est operibus extinari, cum et in musivo animatus ferè autumet si quisque figuras et quæque virentia cernere et in marmoribus omnigenum colorum flores pulchra putet diversitate vernare. Ubi supr.

marble, or precious stones.* The entire roof, nave, aisles, absis, chancel, and vestibule, was one sheet of lead: over the great arch ran this inscription, in gold letters. The allusion is to the triumph with which the just are to be crowned in heaven.

Ut duce te palma justis potiatur adepta,
Hinc Desiderius Pater hanc tibi condidit aulam.

Under the feet of St. John the Baptist, on one side of the great absis and of St. John the Evangelist on the other, there was this inscription—like the first in gold letters—claiming for Monte Casino the title of the Sinai of the West. The mountain from which the Law of Mercy has been proclaimed—*per climata Sæcli*—through every region of heathendom, from age to age:—

Hæc domus est similis Synai sacra jura ferentes,
Ut Lex demonstrat, hic quæ fuit edita quondam
Lex hinc exivit mentes qui ducit ab imis,
Et vulgata dedit lumen per clymata Sæcli.

"The windows throughout were of glass, set in leaden sashes. The latter were secured in strong frames of iron, except in the aisles, where a gypsum,

* "Omnibus artificiis quæcunque ex auro, vel argento, ære, ferro, ebore, ligno, gipso, vel lapide patrari possunt, studiosissimos prorsus artifices de suis sibi paravit," etc. These monks were not "worthless drones," "hooded reptiles," &c. as the Italian patriots call them. Is there, in the middle of the nineteenth century, one empire or republic that has merited so well of the arts, or done so much for their advancement, as this single monk of the eleventh century? Mene dubito forte.

scarcely less brilliant than glass, was used. The side chapels, or oratories of St. Bartholomew and St. Nicholas with their adjoining vestries—*cameræ*—had their roofs lackered, their pavements tesselated, their walls covered with pictures, their niches and arches set off with mosaic and with massive gilding—in keeping with the body of the basilica at large—so that in these countries the like had never before been seen. But after all, the parts immediately surrounding the high altar, surpassed all the rest in richness and variety of embellishments. The front of the choir, which he placed nearly in the centre of the church, was adorned with four huge slabs, one of porphyry, one of verde antico, the other two, like those round the other sides, were of simple parian. In the vestibule—adorned with columns and having its arches of mosaic gilt—the interstices of the sides were panelled with gypsum; and on the exterior as well as the interior, Desiderius caused it to be painted with various histories from the Ancient and the New Testament, as did he likewise the two towers—belfries—which sprung from above this porch, and were quoined with marble.

"One of the brethren he selected and sent to Constantinople with thirty-six pounds of gold, and letters for the emperor, to superintend the execution of an antependium—*in altaris facie tabulam.* It was to be composed of smalt and jewels inlaid in such a way as to represent various scenes from the Gospel and the life and miracles of Saint Benedict; and cer-

tainly nothing more honourable or beneficent could there be than the reception our brother met with at the Byzantine Court. He and his companions were most hospitably provided for, and afforded every facility and assistance in accomplishing their object. In the meantime, the chancels for separating the sanctuary from the choir-gates of gilt bronze were erected, and above them a beam of the same metal and similarly adorned, supporting fifty candelabra of marble. These it is customary to light on great festivals. The beam also had lamps suspended from it on brass hooks underneath, to the number of thirty-six, and at either end of it, it appeared to be lifted up and prevented from falling by the strength of gigantic arms and hands, also of bronze. The beam over the chancel between the choir and the nave was of wood; but it was exquisitely carved and beautified with gilding and the most brilliant colours. It was sustained by six silver columns, four and a half cubits high, and had suspended from it eighteen images, five of them round and thirteen square. Ten of the latter the brother at Constantinople had made in a very exquisite manner, but the rest the work of our own monks, were not inferior; except that the others were of a more precious material, being made of massive silver—whereas ours were only of urn silver—*argentea solummodo urnea.* Another image—round—wonderfully sculptured in silver, which came from the same quarter, was rivalled in another executed here, as may be seen by comparing them

where they stand fronting each other in the Ciborium (baldachino) of the high altar. This Ciborium rests on silver columns and is decorated in the highest degree. The two great silver crosses standing on marble pedestals—one on either hand as you enter the sanctuary—were miracles of art as to the sculpturing of the figures in relief. The same is to be said of the six greater candelabra three cubits high for flaming torches, and of the silver one six cubits high, for the great candle which it is customary to light on holy Saturday. The latter stood in front of the pulpit for preaching or for chanting the Gospel from,—which pulpit was one mass of beauty, combining all the charms of carving, gilding, inlaying, and painting. A pharos also he made, that is, a corona of immense size—in circumference twenty cubits—adorned on the outer rim with twelve towers, and having suspended from it six-and-thirty lamps: the entire being suspended from the roof, in front of the greater crucifix, by a right massy and strong chain of iron, adorned with seven gilt balls—*eamque extra chorum ante crucem majorem satis firma catena septem deauratis malis distincta suspendit.**

"Great, meanwhile, was the eagerness with which church ornaments, of which up to that time we had been very destitute, were sought after by Desiderius in all quarters; and, with God's blessing, his zeal was not without its reward. For what with his own private fortune which he brought to St. Benedict,

* Church Ornaments, &c.

and what with funds he managed to borrow from his bosom friends among the Romans—having put together an amount of 180 pounds of silver, he purchased or redeemed from those who held them in pawn, up and down through Rome, nearly all the ornaments of the late Pope Victor II.,—massy as they were with barbaric gold and jewellery of great price. The pastoral staff he got covered all over with silver gilt: he caused an antependium to be made of gold and set with diamonds—also a thurible of gold set in like manner with gems and rubies. A book of the Epistles to be chanted at mass, he covered on one side with silver, on the other with gold. A codex of the Rule of St. Benedict he had beautifully ornamented on the inside and covered on the outside with silver. The same he did with the Mass-books (called sacramentaria by the Chronicler), with two books of the Gospels and one of the Epistles; for up to that period both the Epistle and Gospel used to be read from the plenary Missal—a practice which would be regarded now as very unbecoming—*quod quam esset tunc inhonestum modo satis advertitur.* Another book of the processional prayers he likewise adorned: and another book for singing before the altar or on the step—*sive in gradu*—(hence called the Gradual,) he had covered with tablets of ivory, wonderfully carved and enchased with silver, also the lives of St. Benedict, St. Maurus, and St. Scolastica. He made silver gates for the choir. The oak stalls all round it he

embellished with carving and paintings, and outside the choir (between it and the aditus to the altar?), he erected a stage in carved work after the fashion of Ambones, (gradum ligneum ejusdem operis), from which, as well the lessons of the night hours (lectiones in nocte) as the Epistles and Gospels, might be recited on the principal feasts. Twenty pieces of silk which he had purchased at Amalfi, when there was a report that the Emperor (Henry III.) was coming, he got made into copes; as the emperor for whom he intended the silk as a present had turned back upon his way. It was of the richest sort, commonly called "triblattas." A silver vase of seven pounds weight that he bought at the same time, with a similar view, and another of the same metal and weight, he ordained to be used in the Sunday processions, for the holy water—*ad ministerium aquæ sanctificatæ, in processione dierum Dominicarum.* In that same visit to Amalfi he was so charmed with the bronze gate of the bishop's palace that he sent an order to Constantinople for a gate of a similar kind, according to the dimensions of the old Basilica; for as yet he had not proposed to build the new one. When the Empress Agnes came to visit the new Basilica, her offerings of vestments of the richest, most magnificent and costly description, added greatly to these treasures.*

* "Obtulit B. Ben. pro ut Augustalem dignitatem decebat, donan magnifica" Vid. cap. 32.

"Non cessabat dum ista agerentur Desiderius in conquirendis

Within the bounds of the monastery, the basilica of the blessed Martin was now the only one that remained of all the old buildings. He had it taken down, and the foundations being laid anew in the name of Christ, a far more beautiful edifice soon arose, forty-three cubits long, twenty-eight wide, in height twenty-four,—with colonnades of nine pillars, on each side, and as many windows in the aisles,—these as well as the windows of the transepts, frontispiece, and absis, being all of glass or gypsum. The marble altar, rails, and gates of St. Martin's chapel were a miracle of art (*mirificos*). The absis adorned with mosaics was inscribed with the verses following, in letters of gold :—

Cultibus extiterat quondam locus iste dicatus
Dæmonicis, inque hoc templo veneratus Apollo,
Quod pater, huc properans, Benedictus in Omnipotentis
Vertit honore Dei, Martini et nomine Sancti :
Hoc Desiderius post centum lustra vetustum,
Parvumque evertit, renovavit, compsit, et auxit.

Nothing could be more lovely than the encaustic pavement; the pulpit shone with gold, and was beautified with enamelled paintings. The doors were of bronze sculptured; and on the antependium of the altar, which was of silver, were represented in high relief nearly all the acts of St.

ecclesiæ ornamentis insudare et undecumque posset, quibuscumque posset ingeniis, quæ ejus apta essent pulchritudini comparare." C. 34. p. 453.

Matthew the Evangelist, and St. Martin the holy Confessor of Christ. When he had completed all, one or two little cells attached like sacristies to St. Martin's, (which of all the basilicas and oratories of the holy mount was the last to be finished,) were the abode selected by Desiderius for his own residence."*

When Desiderius had completed all—God prospering and aiding him throughout—his next step was to betake himself to Alexander, Pontiff of the Supreme See, most devoutly to invite him to come to the dedication of St. Benedict's. The Pope most graciously acceded to his request. Hildebrand also, the Pope's chief minister, was invited, and the other Cardinals and Roman bishops. The urban clergy and nobility, with that affectionate liberality of disposition which had won him all hearts, he likewise invited; and the kalends of October, (when nature in Italy, especially amidst its mountain and forest scenery, puts on its most entrancing charms), were fixed by agreement with his Holi-

* Juxta eandem vero basilicam mansiunculas, in qua (sic) ipse maneret construens, trabibus appositis tegulis desuper operuit. Another MSS. has it—Circa eandem vero ecclesiam *bicameratam* domum *ad ornamentum ejusdem ecclesiæ recondendæ* construxit. This "vessel of election," after all, could be at home no where but amongst the ornaments of the holy place, of which he excelled in beauty and perfection, any and all that Byzantine genius and elaborate art had fashioned.

ness and the Cardinals, as the most fitting time for the joyous festival. All the bishops and abbots of Campania and of the principality of Apulia and Calabria were invited to be present, by letters from the Apostolic father, Alexander himself.

"Whereupon, the fame of the approaching festivities being wafted far and wide through all Italy, such was the multitude of bishops, abbots, monks, clerks, magnates, nobles, physicians—(medicorum)—and of persons of all rank and of either sex, who came pouring in living streams, in all costumes and from all points of the horizon, towards this mountain, as the memorable day began to smile upon us serene and heavenly, that the stars of the firmament, it had been easier for any man to number, than those countless crowds. It was not that the outbuildings of the monastery were filled, and that their roofs were occupied by groups, as were the vantage points all down the mountain side, and along the winding path by which the procession was to approach, but the adjacent city looked as if its houses were built of human beings. They swarmed in its streets and open spaces, they came from as far as the ken could carry, hastening along the valleys, they descended by the winding paths from the fortress towns and castles of the surrounding mountains, while in the glades of the woods, and by the silver streams of the rich plains all round about, the tents of other multitudes with their streamers and brilliantly variegated colours were like the encampment of some mighty

host. Yet so full of wisdom were the arrangements made by the father Abbot, and with such unbounded liberality did he throw open his stores of bread, wine, of all sorts of meat, and fish of every species, that when all was over there was hardly to be found a single individual to say that, during all the days the dedication lasted, he had not been abundantly provided for."*

There assisted at the ceremonial ten archbishops —Capuanus, Salernitanus, Neapolitanus, Surrentinus, Amalfitanus, Sipontius, Troncnsis, Acerentinus, Ydruntinus, Oiretanus: forty-three bishops, viz: Portuensis, Tusculanensis, Savinensis (Sabinensis) Segninus, Anagninus, Berulanus, (Verulanus,) Terracinensis, Cajetanus, Aquinensis, Soranus, Marcicanus, Balvensis, Pennensis, Teanensis, Calenus, Rosellanus, Aversanus, Nolanus, Avellinensis, Pestanus, Trojanus, Florentinensis, Melfitanus, Lucerinus, Draconaricensis, Civitatensis, Termulensis, Guardiensis, Vigiliensis, Melfittensis, Juvenazensis, Monopolitanus, Stunensis, Tarentinus, Perusinus et Castellanus *electus*—the last mentioned, the only bishop-elect of Castello, was consecrated the day after the dedication.

But of the magnates, Richard, prince of Capua,

* "Apparatus interim per tres illos continuos dies præcedentes ac subsequentes eandem solemnitatem, in pane videlicet ac vino carniûmque diversarum ac pisciûm multipliciter adeo est expositus, *ut nullus fere aliquis in tam innumera multitudine qui non se suffiscienter hæc accepisse dixerit, potuerit repperiri.*"—*Ubi supr.*

was there with his son Jordan and his brother Resinulfo: Gisulfo, prince of Salerno, with his brothers, Landulfo prince of Benevento, Sergius, duke of Neapolis, and Sergius duke of Sorrento. The siege of Palermo, in which he was at that time engaged, alone prevented Duke Robert (Guiscard) from assisting at so great a solemnity. But as for the Counts of the Marsi, of the Balventines, and the sons of Borelli, the pomp and array of numbers in which they came were marvellous; but to pretend to give the names of all or even to count them, would be vain; they were beyond number—*numerum innumerum*. Nobles and potentates of foreign nations, as well as of the surrounding countries, Normans and others, were in the throng, with their high dames and gallant followers.*

Amidst the outpouring of devotion, and to the infinite joy of this most august assemblage, with honours and a splendour not to be surpassed the said basilica of the blessed Benedict, with its five altars was dedicated on the kalends of October, in the year of the Divine incarnation, one thousand and seventy-one, ninth indiction, on the Sabbath day.†

* "Cæterorum vero potentatûm, seu nobilium, tam nostratiûm tam Normannorum omnium circumquaque terrarum, vel nomina vel numerum innumerum nulla prorsus fuit possibilitas vel consilium recensendi."—Ib.

† The detailed account of the ceremonial, we the more easily dispense ourselves from giving, as it is the same still prescribed by the Roman Ritual, and so frequently witnessed of late years in

The consecration—terminated by the solemn mass —being ended and a plenary indulgence for all who, having confessed their sins, had either assisted on the day of the dedication or were to visit through devotion the new sanctuary during the octave of the feast, having been proclaimed by Apostolical authority, all that multitude dispersed, each to his own country and home. But nevertheless, such was the influx of new comers for that indulgence, that it looked the day after the dedication as if no one had departed.* Prose, no longer sufficing to convey the tumult of joyous and devout emotions, contending for utterance in the bosom of the fervent and noble monk, Leo the Marsian,—the countryman of Ovid, abandons himself to the torrent of sonorous verse. After the Homeric fashion, the tribes and peoples are

these islands. Suffice it to say, the high altar, dedicated to the holy founder St. Benedict, was consecrated by the Pope in person. The Lady altar in the south absis was consecrated by John, cardinal bishop of Tusculum: that of St. Gregory, in the north absis, was consecrated by Hubaldus, cardinal bishop of Sabina, and the altar of St. Nicholas, by Erasmus bishop of Segni.

* L. 3. c. 31. "Per acta igitur sollemniter celebritate missarum et Apostolicæ potestatis auctoritate, tam iis quos tunc præsentes esse contigerat, quam omnium qui per octo continuous dies, *ab devotionem,* tanto sollemnititis ib idem occurrere possuit, *confessorum peccatorum absolutione concessâ* cum moxunâ et ingenti lætitiâ singuli redierunt in sua. Verum præfatæ absolutionis gratiâ tanta undique huc diversi sexus atque ætatis, per easdem octo dies, hominum se continuavit frequentia ut neminem fere illorum qui ad primum diem confluxerant domum remeasse putares.

passed in review, who, during that sunny and blessed octave, came gathering day after day to that holy mountain: thenceforward to be famed as a museum of the arts and a spectacle of architectural elegance and magnificence. From of old it had been famed as a school of Christian sanctitude and enlightenment: it is still famed for the piety and erudition of its inmates and for the recollections and the diversified charms of its scenery.* "Faith," he concludes, "must of a certainty have become a stranger to that man's heart, who could without emotions of happiness, be present at such a festival; and, in fine, though famous throughout all nations had already been this place from remote antiquity, (through veneration for the merits of our blessed Patriarch St. Benedict,) its renown and its glory, so exalted did they now become, might in a manner be dated from this epoch; while, as for the name of

* "Nec modus est populis coëuntibus agmine denso
Nec requies, properant in lucem a nocte diemque
Expectare piget—
Lucani coëunt populi, coit Apula pubes,
Ac Calabri et cuncti quos alluit æstus uterque,
Qui levâ et dextrâ Latium circumstrepit omne:
Ipsaque cœlestiûm sacris procerûm monumentis,
Roma Petro Pauloque potens rorescere gaudet
Mitia profundens ad mœnia celsa Casini,
Vincit iter durum pietas, amor et Benedicti.
Vincit et ALMA FIDES, præsens de omnibus istic
Creditur, et summi Benedictus gloria Christi.
Infidelem certe quisque," &c.

Desiderius—already celebrated in most countries as that of one good as he was great, a model of sanctity and wisdom—it was now extolled as the brightest in the roll of those most remarkable for their virtues and genius who preceded him in this house, and as that of him who deserved to rank first of all abbots, whether of the East or of the West."

Such was the man, as first of the three who had been designated to succeed him, by the dying Saint and Pontiff, the immortal Gregory VII.—on whom were turned all hearts and hopes of those who like the Maccabees in their generation, stood up for the law of God and the institutions of the Fathers, against the might and the persecutions of the impious. But there was one who loudly and firmly protested against the election of Desiderius, and that one was Desiderius himself. The same who in the flower of life had exchanged for the diadem of a matchless principality the tonsure of a monk, while all the blandishments of the world were holding by his princely robes, and with bursting tears and trembling of distress obtesting him not to leave them—is now as inexorable in putting away the lofty tiara from his time-honoured head.

On the day of Pentecost, the 8th of June, A.D. 1085, the Cardinal-bishops of Sabina and Count Gratian, coming from Rome to the south, Desiderius hastened forward to meet them and communicate the dying instructions he had received from Hildebrand,

as to the order to be taken in the affairs of the Church—the tempest of the persecution being then at its very height. He then went with them to Jordan, Norman prince of Capua, and Rainulfo count of Aversa. They found both these princes ready to place themselves at their disposal, for the succour of the Roman Church,—at that moment oppressed by Guibert the antipope,—a man notorious for the enormity of his crimes, and a self-confessed usurper.* He next impressed on the Cardinals the necessity for dispatch, and urged them to write to the Countess Matilda, to be up and stirring in the north, so that there might be secure access to Rome for those who were to take part in the election. But discovering that they had no thought but to decoy him to Rome, and there, notwithstanding his stedfast refusal, oblige him to be Pope, he retired to Monte Casino—still, however, exerting all his great influence to win the Norman and Lombard chivalry of the south, so that he had them all inflamed with zeal to support the rights of St. Peter. The autumn following in proceeding towards Rome with Jordan of Capua and the armies of the south, he halted in

* Vid. Rohrb. L. 65. p. 395. When upbraided by Desiderius himself, who met him at Albano in company with Henry IV., during the siege of Sant Angelo—"Se sentant pressé, lui dit qu'il l'avait fait malgré lui, parceque autrement le roi Henri aurait perdu sa dignité." Which may be interpreted by the vulgar saying—Through good nature he was ready 'to go to perdition of another man's errand!'

the Val di Sacco, refusing to go further unless they pledged themselves, if he went with them, not to resort to violence on the subject of his election. The others were equally determined in refusing any such promise, and once more the endeavour to put an end to the vacancy of the see ended in disappointment.

A year had now elapsed in these incertitudes, when at length, determined to put an end to a state of things so disastrous to the cause of the Church, (over which the spirit of iniquity in the person of Guibert seemed to triumph,) the bishops and cardinals towards the Easter of 1086, assembled at Rome, from all parts, and summoned Desiderius to join them speedily with the Cardinals who were in the south,—bringing Gisulf of Salerno to escort them. Imagining that all thought of himself had been at length abandoned, Desiderius came to Rome—arriving on the eve of Pentecost, the 23rd of May. During all that day the Catholics, both laity and clergy, came to the deaconry of Santa Lucia, entreating the abbot no longer to refuse the episcopate, but to succour the Church in those perils which threatened to overwhelm it. And when they continued, despite of his repeated refusals, to persist and to throw out hints of using compulsion, he said: "Be assured that if you attempt any thing of the kind it will only redound to the discredit of yourselves and of the Roman Church, for the first use that I shall make of my liberty will be to re-

turn to Monte Casino, and take part no more in the Papal election." Nevertheless, they returned at an early hour on the morrow, which was Pentecost Sunday, when finding that Desiderius could not be moved, they implored him to name some one else. But as one of the Cardinals could not be prevailed on to agree to his choice, which fell on the bishop of Ostia (another of those designated by St. Gregory, and afterwards Urban II.), they laid hands on Desiderius himself—carried him into the church of Santa Lucia, and elected him Pontiff by acclamation —giving him the name of Victor III. But four days after, retiring to Terracina, he there put off the insignia they had thus forced upon him—declaring his determination, rather than charge himself with so awful a dignity, to pass the remainder of his days in pilgrimage. With tears they besought him, again and again depicting the dangers to which he exposed the Church, and that Divine anger such obstinacy could not fail to provoke. The Prince of Capua, at the entreaty of the Cardinals, was prepared with his army to bring him back to Rome to be consecrated: he had even come to Monte Casino, with that intent; but the resolution of Desiderius was not to be overcome.

The year following, A.D. 1087, there was a Council at Capua, at which Desiderius assisted as one of the Cardinals: Cencio the consul, also, and many of the Roman nobility were present—also Jordan prince of Capua, Roger duke of Calabria, and

nearly all the nobles of his court. No sooner had the transactions of the Council been brought to a close, than all those who had assisted at it, secular as well as ecclesiastics, returned with greater earnestness than ever, to entreat that Desiderius would resume the pontificate. For two entire days he remained inflexible. At length, the dukes, the Prince of Capua, the bishops and cardinals, with all the rest, throwing themselves at his feet, in floods of tears assailed him with such arguments and with such a storm of entreaties, that he yielded: ratified the election already made at Rome, and on Palm Sunday, the 21st of March, A.D. 1087, resumed the Pontifical insignia, he had laid aside. After he had celebrated Easter at Monte Casino, the princes of the south, especially those of Capua and Salerno, having mustered their forces, escorted the now Pope Victor III., with the cardinals and his court to Rome. There he was solemnly consecrated, and enthroned in St. Peter's, on the Sunday within the octave of the Ascension, the 9th of May—the bishops of Ostia, of Tusculum, of Porto, and of Albano, officiating on the occasion, and many cardinals, bishops, and abbots being present, besides a multitude of the laity of all orders. For although the Antipope held his ground in the city—having his head-quarters at the Rotunda, (called at that time Santa Maria, *ad turres*)—and being supported by the troops the so-called Emperor Henry had placed at his disposal—the Romans who adhered to

him were but a handful, compared with the overwhelming majority, not only of the citizens but of the princes and barons, who rallied under the auspices of Victor.

This singular conflict, waged with such obstinacy on both sides, between the unbounded confidence of the Roman Church in Desiderius, the first designated of Hildebrand, and the distrust of himself and the repugnance to reign of the Pope elect, were symptoms not without a moral as to the change which had been already effected: not without a utility beyond all estimation to still further accelerate that change. It attested the perfect restoration to soundness, and health, and strength, and heroic courage of that Church, which we saw but awhile ago brought as low as was the wounded man by the way side when the good Samaritan had compassion on him; or to adhere to the more appropriate illustration already adduced —as the Redeemer himself in the darkest hour of his agony. That dignity which during the dark and disastrous epoch was contended for, as gladiators struggle on a bloody arena for a prize, has again become a responsibility so tremendous: is dreaded as a burden so overpowering for human infirmity to bear, that a man who by experience had shown his power of effecting what to ordinary mortals had seemed impossibilities, is so overpowered with fear—with consciousness of his own incapacity to cope

with the difficulties of that position, that his resistance, as seen even in a feeble sketch, must be regarded as something portentous. Had Desiderius with alacrity accepted the tiara on the first intimation of the wishes of the electors, and then gone round through Christendom denouncing with the "tongues of men and angels," that curse and scandal of the age—simony—he would not have been a whit less the thoroughly self-denying, pure-minded, disinterested Pontiff he is now proved to be; but, nevertheless, the effect could not have been but insignificant as compared with that produced by the example of this conflict of two entire years, on which the whole Christian world, (as well the disciples of Simon Magus as of Simon Peter,) were gazing with interest and anxiety the most intense. The very lesson of all others, of which the world stood most direfully in need, when thus inculcated, could not possibly be mistaken as to its meaning or underrated as to its importance. It helped too, in a wonderful manner, to shake off the usurped pretensions of the Kaisers. It exhibits Henry in his real position: with reference to the Holy See, the same that was occupied by a Decius, or a Julian the Apostate. Never is the Church so free, and therefore never so pure or so formidable to tyrants, as when—outlawed and under bloody persecution—it has utterly shaken off the enervating vassalage of courts. It is then it becomes a "spectacle to the world, and to angels, and to men:"—a spectacle of wonder and admiration as

well as of dread and hatred to its very enemies: a star of hope, encouragement, and consolation unutterable to the afflicted followers of a Redeemer,—poor, the "reproach of men," a victim doomed to suffer for iniquities not his own. It was manifest that for the Church, as for her Redeemer, the hour of opprobrium and of infirmity had passed, and that she now shone forth in all the glory and power of her resurrection. It is in vain that all the violence of the head of the feudal world, that all the stratagems of the powers of darkness his allies, are exerted against her, during a fifty years' war. Whether seated on the throne of their temporal sovereignty at Rome, or fleeing from city to city and from nation to nation, the successors of Hildebrand are still upborne by the irresistible faith of the Catholic millions; while the idols of schism, the Antipopes, the successors of Simon Magus, the high-priests of the most baleful of passions—the lust of the flesh and the lust of mammon—though backed by the Empire, drop one by one, self-condemned and execrated, into dishonoured graves. Their champions are at last forced to lay down their arms and allow to the Church that very programme of her liberties which was drawn up and passed into a law, though not promulgated, by Hildebrand in the very first Synod held by him after he ascended the Papal throne! We allude to the Concordat which was signed by Henry V. and ratified in the most solemn

manner—the papal legates celebrating the high mass of thanksgiving in presence of the vast multitude which no cathedral could contain, and who knelt around the altar on the vast plain extending between the city of Worms and the Rhine—during the beautiful vintage season of A.D. 1122. That 23rd day of September ought to be for ever memorable and blessed:—it secured peace, WITH LIBERTY, to the Church.

One of the first acts of Victor III. had the effect of at once effectually curbing the Saracen corsairs, (the scourge of the Italians of the south, both by land and sea, for so many ages,) and of infusing into the two little republics of Pisa and Genoa, that self reliance and spirit of daring enterprise, through which they rapidly attained to an astonishing height of power, prosperity, and glory. By advice of the bishops and cardinals, the Pope, though almost in a dying state, assembled a naval force to which the two petty states were the chief contributors, and giving them the standard of St. Peter and the indulgence usual in the Crusades, sent them against the strongholds of the corsairs on the African coast. The capture of two cities of great strength, the defeat of the Saracens in a pitched battle, the constraining the King of Tunis to set at liberty all the Christian captives and become tributary to the Apostolic See: such a quantity of spoil, that from a portion only of their share of it, the Pisans built

their cathedral and Campo Santo, as we now behold them,—were the results of this first step in the great career of the Crusades, and also of Italian greatness.*

Seldom has romance itself exhibited a career in which vicissitudes the most startling—conducting to a denouement the most highly calculated to surprise, and all combined with the most classically dramatic unity—are to be found so eminently exemplified as in the simple narrative of this Pontiff's life. To his gesta as the fourth restorer of the Horeb of the West, or to the struggle which carried him to the throne of St. Peter we need not again recur; but finding him now enthroned in that very city from which he fled in the flower of his age, his brow adorned—not with the diadem of a principality which he cast from him in his youth, but with the tiara which has been forced upon him in his honoured and venerated old age—we are forced to admit that the wildest fictions are sometimes eclipsed by the sober realities of history, and that seldom have fame and honours so relentlessly hunted down one who fled from them with such determination of escape, as in the instance of Victor III., the immediate successor of Hildebrand in the Papacy. During three days, in the August of 1087, this Pontiff, whose memory is justly venerable in the Church, held a Synod in his native city of Benevento, the capital

* Vid. Guaf. Malab. et Leo Ostien. apud Muratori, Rer. Ital. SS. Berthold. ann. 1088. Pagi, ann. 1087.

of the principality, which he abdicated in his youth.* After detailing how the simoniacal heresy had invaded and laid waste the Church, in the manner already related, he renewed the condemnations and censures pronounced by the preceding Pontiffs, from the reign of the unfortunate Benedict IX.—beginning with those of St. Leo IX. He renewed the decree of St. Gregory VII. against investitures, ordaining that no one receiving appointment to a see or an abbacy from a lay person, should be recognized as a bishop or abbot in the Church. The same law was declared applicable to the benefices of the inferior clergy. "Wherefore," concludes the last allocation of Victor, "if any king, duke, marquis, count, or other secular person, shall presume to give investiture (the same as institution, as investiture was then understood) of bishoprics or other ecclesiastical dignities, he shall be comprised in the same condemnation. When, therefore, you fail to shun such bishops, abbots, clerics,—when you hear their masses or join in their prayers—you incur the same excommunication with them; for they cannot be regarded as legitimate priests. Do not receive penance or communion except from a Catholic priest: if one is not to be found, it is better to re-

* Beneventum principatus jure *commutationis* pertinet ad Sam. Sedem. Cenni Monumenta, &c. p. 179. See Continuator (Leonis) Ostiensis, L. 4, c. 19. A.D. 1098. Anso, who usurped it A.D 1098, though tolerated by Urban II. (of the Crusades) was differently dealt with by Paschal II., in A.D. 1113.

main without communion, and receive it invisibly from our Lord."

These decrees having been confirmed by the authority of all the bishops who assisted at the Council, copies were taken and circulated, not in the West only, but also throughout the East.*

The same who rode under the proud gates of Benevento on that genial evening, in his youth, when relinquishing his sword at the way-side chapel of St. Peter, he vowed himself for ever, chaste in body and in mind to heaven, is now borne through them once more, and for the last time, surrounded by such state as only belongs to the first of monarchs, and with such tears as are shed only for the best of fathers.— Victor III. is dying, and it is from that mountain of holiness, which in his first fervour he had selected as his portion, and whereon in after life he had wrought such wonders for the honour of God, that he longs for his soul to take its flight, like the dove, and be at rest: for his body to repose till the day of the resurrection. He pointed out in the chapter-house where they were to make his tomb, and how they were to form it, so as to have it in harmony with all around it. When this was done, he had the bishops and cardinals summoned round his dying couch. They were all standing before him, in a silence unbroken except by sobs which no heroism could suppress: then the fast-expiring Victor taking the hand

* Labbe, t. 10. p. 418, 419.

of Otho, bishop of Ostia, in his own, admonished the cardinals of the dying injunction of Pope Gregory regarding Otho, and presenting him to them, said: "Receive him and place him in the Roman see; and until such time as you can do so, let him be for you, in all things, my vicegerent."* This memorable scene took place on the 16th of September, A. D. 1087.†

All through Italy the Catholic party, on hearing of the death of Pope Victor, were thrown into the greatest consternation: they could hardly see any chance of now saving the Church. The bishops being dispersed in various places, messengers were seen hastening in all directions, not only from the Italian Churches and from the Countess Matilda, but from beyond the mountains,—entreating them to come together speedily, and give a head to the Church already tottering, as it would seem, on the brink of ruin. For Henry's antipope, Guibert of Ravenna, (the accomplice of Cencio in the attempt of Christmas night on St. Gregory,) was in posses-

* "Post hæc convocatis ad se Episcopis et Cardinalibus, monuit ac jussit, ut juxta Gregorii Papæ statutum, Ottonem Ostiensem Episcopum quamprimum eligerent, pontificemque constituerent; quem, quia præsens aderat, manu apprehensum cæteris Episcopis tradidit, dicens, accipite eum, et in Romanâ sede locate, meamque vicem in omnibus, quousque facere possitis, habitote."—*Leo Ostiensis*, l. 3. c. 71.

† Vid. Acta SS. 16 Sept. et Acta Bened. Sec. 6.

sion of Rome, and the star of the schismatics seemed everywhere in the ascendant. Having at length come together, the bishops and cardinals forming the Sacred College sent letters to the Catholics in Rome, both laity and clergy, for as many of them as could, to be at Terracina by the first week in Lent; and for those who could not, to send a deputy, with a written authorization to concur, in their name, in whatever election might be made. They wrote to the same effect to the bishops and abbots of Campania and of the principalities; and in effect, the meeting took place at Terracina on the 8th of March, 1088. On the part of the Romans, John, bishop of Porto, represented the absent cardinals and the inferior clergy: the laity were represented by Benedictus, the prefect of the city. Between bishops and abbots, there were forty in all. The morning following, which was Thursday, they assembled in the cathedral dedicated to St. Peter and St. Cesarius, and when they were seated, the bishop of Tusculum rose up and made a report of what Pope Gregory and afterwards Pope Victor had ordained for the government of the Church. He then stated the object for which they were met together. The bishop of Porto and the prefect Benedictus next presented their credentials. Oderic, abbot of Monte Casino, the archbishop of Capua, and all the others having signified their approval of what had been said, it was then agreed to pass these

three days, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, in fasting and prayer accompanied by alms, to ask of God to be enlightened as to His holy will.

At early dawn on Sunday, the 12th of March, they assembled in the same church, and after deliberating for some time, the three cardinals who were at the head of the conclave,—namely, the bishops of Porto, of Tusculum, and of Albano—rose up, mounted the ambon, and announced, as if with one voice, their wish to elect the bishop Otho as Pope. They then took the sense of the assembly in the usual way—all responding aloud that they approved the choice, and that Otho was worthy to be Pope. The bishop of Albano proclaimed that he was to be named Urban. Then rising up, they all came round the Pontiff-elect, where he was seated, and taking off the woollen cape or scapular which he wore as a monk of Clugni, they robed him in the purple; and amidst acclamations and the intoning of the hymn of the Holy Ghost, they bore him to the altar of St. Peter and placed him on the throne. Pope Urban II. then celebrated the solemn mass. Already we have stated how his pontificate, as he announced in his encyclical letter, was, so to speak, a continuation of that of St. Gregory VII.: we have also heard in what spirit he proclaimed the Crusade. The other great transactions of his reign, as belonging to the domain of ecclesiastical history, we refrain from noticing. Henceforward, therefore, now that we

have disengaged ourselves of the chaos of the tenth century, our course we anticipate will be more rapid and exhilarating, as our attention shall certainly be more rigorously restricted to the civil history of the Papal States and their capital.

CHAPTER IV.

The following description was drawn up by William of Malmesbury, from what eye-witnesses had told him. "In the times of Pope Gregory VI. who was previously called Gratianus, a man of great piety and austerity of disposition, to such a ruinous state," he says, "were the resources of the Apostolic see reduced by the negligence of the preceding Pontiffs, that except a few towns in the vicinity of Rome, and the offerings of the faithful, all other means of subsistence had been taken away. The more distant cities and provinces of that patrimony had been usurped by robbers: from end to end of Italy the highways and most sequestered roads were infested with bands of plunderers who assailed the wayfarer at every turn, so that pilgrims could not venture to travel except in large bodies, armed to the teeth, and at all moments prepared to repel an attack. Even the by-paths through the hills and forests, swarmed with ambuscades—a network of brigandage overspread the land, from which for the unfortunate traveller, there was no escaping. With or without money, it was all the same for those who fell into their hands: and once in their power, every struggle to escape or entreaty to be spared was to little purpose. All communication of the provinces

of the Church, with their capital, was thus cut off. Those who wished to offer or bequeath anything to religion, preferred to do so at home than to contribute to enrich the Italian banditti. But how fared it with the city, once the habitation of sanctity? There, in the middle of the Forum, assassins paraded themselves—proud of their perfidy and adroitness in decoying and despatching their victims; and the few who, in their intense desire to visit the Apostolic see, might succeed in evading the highway bands, were certain either to fall by the daggers of this latter class, or to escape only when covered with wounds and stripped of their property. Over the very bodies of the holy Apostles and martyrs swords were drawn and the oblations—snatched by these bravi from the hands of the faithful, before they could deposit them on the altars—were squandered in carousals and debauchery."

He then goes on to describe how Pope Gregory exhausted every argument, in his frequent sermons to those within the city, in his letters and by his legates to those beyond it, to put an end to these horrible disorders. He proclaimed that the bravi should no longer be suffered thus to trample the commonest dictates of humanity under foot, and that the Barons should either relinquish what they had usurped, or come before the Roman Senate, and make good their title. An outburst of scorn and rage was the response of the brigands, both in town and country. Nothing was heard in the streets

or round the walls of Rome, but the din of arms and cries for vengeance, so that it was with difficulty the Pope himself escaped with life.* At length the sword of justice was unsheathed, first against those who had made the capital of the Christian world worse than a lair of wild beasts, and literally converted the basilica of the Apostle into a den of thieves; and next, against the highway robbers and usurpers throughout the States. "The cities and estates, long alienated, were thus recovered; peace, long exiled, through sloth and imbecility of many, was brought back by the energy of one man. The long untrodden highways began once more to be crowded with pilgrims journeying in full security, and after having feasted their eyes on the miracles of antiquity and made their offering without molestation, they returned homeward, their joyous canticles announcing the radiant happiness of their souls."†

However, it would appear from what we read in the same Wilhelmus regarding the treatment met with by Aldred, archbishop of York, and some other English prelates, at the hands of our old

* "Maligni illi levi admonitione perstricti, contra furere, minas auras terretare, muros Urbis armis circumsonare, adeo ut pene Papam interimerent."—*Wilhelm. Biblioth. Malmesb. de Gest. Reg. Angl.* l. 2. c. 13.

† "Prædia omnia et oppida multis temporibus amissa, in antiquum jus reformavit: itaque pax per multorum signitiem exulans, per unum hominem in patriam rediit. Securi peregrini insuetas viarum terebat orbitas, *læti per Urbem antiquis oculos pascebant miraculis:* cantitantes, donis factis, repatriabant."—*Ubi supr.*

acquaintance, Gerard of Galera, that, in the pontificate of Nicholas II. a new crop of marauders had sprung up, along the highways at least, and was flourishing in full luxuriance. His Grace of York on his way home from Rome, was met in the neighbourhood of Galera by the noble Count—the ally of the Alberics of Tusculum and of the German Kaiser, in their wars against the Holy See—and was instantly relieved of the burden of one thousand pounds of Papal money he and his companions were carrying to England. St. Peter Damian, in stating the fact in his defence of the Roman Church against the Kaiser's advocate or attorney-general adds, that in a plenary Synod, Pope Nicholas presiding, the said Gerard, on whose head already rested the anathemas of every Pope who had reigned since his career began, was placed once more for this deed under the ban of the Church. Arms of a more earthly temper, and much more suitable for such a distemper as affected the Baron of Galera, were speedily brought to bear on himself and fellows throughout the length and breadth of the States, but more especially in the Val di Sacco, Sabinia, the Agro Romano, and all the parts beyond the Tiber. After adjusting the affairs of Benevento, Pope Nicholas II. returned with such a force of the Norman liegemen of St. Peter, that the arrogance of such heroes as Gerard subsided, and "the city was relieved from their tyranny."* Ba-

* Vid. Baron. ad an. 1059. p. 37. "Capitaneorum cervicositate valide destructâ, redire ad mandatum et subjectionem Domini

ronius adds, after quoting the above passage from the Cardinal of Arragon, that thenceforward but little is heard of the invasions with which the Roman Church had so long and cruelly been harassed by the Counts of Tusculum and their accomplices. We even find them zealous in support of St. Gregory VII. A.D. 1080, against the antipope Guibert of Ravenna. His solicitude for all the Churches, and his intervention in favour of almost every nation in the Christian world, did not prevent his paying great attention to the temporal government of the States. Soon after his election he made a progress through the Campagna di Roma. He dates letters from Laurentum, Albano, Monte Casino; visits Benevento, taking Abbot Didier with him, and after bringing the refractory in that quarter to a better feeling, visits Capua, where he does the same; returns thence to Monte Casino—some of his letters to Lanfranc are dated from thence; returns to Rome, and comes back again as far south as Terracina. We next find by his letters he is at Piperno—letters dated from the surrounding places—returns to Rome.* He went from Rome through Tuscany on his way to Canossa, A.D. 1077. After three months' stay in Lombardy and Tuscany on that occasion, he returned to Rome through Florence, Siena—proba-

Pontificis coacti sunt, *liberatâ urbe ab eorum tyrannide,* et in suum statum Ecclesiâ restitutâ."

* Baron. ad an. 1073, from p. 507 to 516.

bly by Radecofani, Aquapendente—though the maritime road was then more frequented.

In return for the mercy with which St. Gregory had acted towards him, no sooner had Cencio, with his wife and his children, escaped from Rome, than with such forces as he could gather, he began wasting and plundering the States of St. Peter wherever his power could reach. He was condemned by the Roman people on St. Stephen's day as a public enemy, and banished from Rome, for ever.

In A.D. 1100, we find Paschal II. recovering the cities and other possessions usurped during the occupation of Rome by Guibert the antipope. It is on this occasion we first meet with the name of Colonna (so far as is known to us) in the person of one Peter, who is forced to relinquish no small share of the plunder.* But withal the States, and Rome itself, continued to be the scene of turbulence in all its shapes throughout the entire of this reign. Thus, in A.D. 1111, the Pope is treacherously seized at the altar in St. Peter's by Henry V., is dragged away prisoner to Sutri—Rome held by the Cardinals and the Catholics being during the interim in the greatest excitement. Not few were the encounters before the Pope is at length restored to liberty. He holds a Synod at the Lateran, A.D. 1112: one at Ceprano, A.D. 1113: is outrageously attacked by the city prefect (in the interest of the Kaiser), A.D. 1115: is at Troy (in Calabria) holding a Synod the same year: makes

* Baron. ad an. 1100. n. 18.

triumphal entry into Rome, A.D. 1116, and in the year following, recovers some towns in Campania, that is, in the Val di Sacco and the Volscian country.

In A.D. 1120, Callistus II. after being crowned at Rome, went into Pulia, of which he gave investiture to Duke William—visited Benevento, there to adjust a variety of weighty affairs, as the continuator of Leo Ostiensis informs us. He returned by sea and up the Tiber to Rome. In A.D. 1121, we find him writing as follows:—"Callistus, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brothers and sons, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors and the rest, as well of the clergy as of the laity, faithful liegemen of St. Peter dwelling in the Gauls, salutation, and benediction apostolic. Because the people forsook the law of God, and walked not in His judgments, with the rod of their own iniquity the Lord struck them, turning their sins into stripes; failing not, however, in the bowels of mercy to regard with compassion those who had remained steadfast in their fidelity. Long were the faithful of the Church, in chastisement of our sins, left to suffer under the scourge of Burdino,—that idol set up by the Teutonic kings—so that many were languishing in the dungeons to which he had consigned them, and others had already died, sinking under hardships and cruelties too great for human nature to

bear. The cries of the victims of his rapacity, of the poor, of the wayfarer and the pilgrim, arose from every side. When no longer able to endure them, we issued forth after Easter from this city and caused the town of Sutri, where the diabolical depredator had fixed his nest, to be invested—besieging it until at length through the Divine aid, this enemy of the Church with the place itself came into our power." Suger, the abbot of Saint Denis (renowned as one of the greatest statesmen of his age) informs us with regard to this affair of the antipope Burdino—who from his stronghold at Sutri sent forth his legates to plunder the surrounding country up to the gates of Rome, and to pillage all such companies of wayfarers as were not strong enough to defend themselves—that the Romans, in their enthusiasm for Callistus, marched forth in great strength to the siege; that no sooner had they laid hold of Burdino, than, covering him with a sheepskin just stripped from the animal by the knife, and placing him on a camel's back with his face to the tail, they conducted him, amidst a shower of reproaches, through the Via Regia of Rome. The Abbas Urspergensis,* another contemporary, says that it was "with difficulty he was rescued out of their hands by the Pope, who sent him to the Benedictine monastery

* "Post plures a vulgo sibi contumelias et illusiones illatas, vix a manibus eorum Domino Apostolico illum eripiente, ob agendam pœnitentiam exilio religatum."—*Abb. Ursp.* ad. an. 1121. *ap. Baron.* an. 1121. n. 2.

of Cavi, where the rest of his days were passed amidst opportunities, of which it is to be hoped that the unhappy man availed himself, though an expression in the Chronicle of Monte Casino would lead us to fear that he did not.*

Neither did the nests of brigandage in which the lawless barons had perched themselves on all the ancient ruins, and on every vantage-ground among the Seven Hills, escape. Determined to establish the reign of peace, Callistus had "the towers of Cencius, of the Frangipani, laboratories as they were of mischief—officinæ iniquitatis—and the strongholds of the other tyrants demolished.† Strong garrisons were maintained to curb the evil-doers, and the Counts who had usurped the patrimony of the Church were brought to order."‡ William of Malmsbury tells us what was the result. "In this Pontiff's reign, there was nothing to be apprehended from attacks upon the highways, or from violence within the city. The scenes of flagitious rapine in St. Peter's, where the barons and the bravi, sword in hand, used to rob the pilgrims at the very altar, had given way to the ancient decorum and proper

* "In Monasterium Cavense translatus ad pœnitentiam, sed in sua rebellione perseveravit incautus;" another MS. has it—"in cunctis."—*Petr. Duc.* l. 4. c. 70.

† "Ad pacem autem perpetuo conservandam turres Cencii Frangipanis quæ erant officinæ iniquitatûm, et præsidia tyrannorum demolitum, &c."—*Ap. Baron. ib.*

‡ Pandulph. ap. Baron. ad. an. 1121. p. 5.

arrangements of the Church." He adds, that so free from any inordinate desire of swelling his own resources was Callistus, that he advised the English to make the pilgrimage of Compostella rather than that of Rome, until the pacification of Italy should have rendered travelling through it less perilous than it had been.

Security and order being thus re-established in the States, and in their capital, the first General Council of Lateran was summoned for the following year. It met accordingly, and seldom had Rome beheld a greater concourse from all countries, or an assembly more august. Abbot Suger, who was present, says that of bishops alone there were more than three hundred, not to speak of abbots, inferior clergy beyond number, or of the princes and ambassadors of all countries, not only of the West, but also of the East,—where the Crusades had long since created or conquered a new Catholic world. And whether or not the Eternal City had witnessed grander displays of earthly magnificence, never certainly had a day of triumph brighter, of one more severely contested or more enduring, dawned on the infallible see of Peter. On behalf of the son of Henry IV.—his successor in persecuting the Church, as well as in oppressing the Germanic kingdom,—the Bishop of Spires and the Abbot of Fulda presented themselves before Callistus in the midst of the basilica where sat the Council in solemn state, and

announced the glad tidings that Henry V. was at length disposed to allow to the Church those liberties of which he and his sire, through a sanguinary and incessant war of half a century, had endeavoured to rob her. That the bearers of such an embassage were hailed with welcome and with joy, need hardly be stated. They heard themselves addressed from all sides in accents of the liveliest congratulation, and in the words of Holy Writ:—"How beautiful are the steps of the messenger who bringeth good tidings, announcing peace;" others cried out: "Tidings of good from afar off are like rain in summer to the parched earth." Three legates, the Bishop of Ostia and two other cardinals, were sent back with the king's envoys beyond the mountains, fully empowered to ratify the peace between the Church and the Empire. Having already alluded to the solemn and memorable scene that took place when, all having been concluded, Lambertus of Ostia ascended the altar, erected on the banks of the Rhine and surrounded by countless thousands, to invoke the sanction of heaven on the peace by celebrating the Divine mysteries—we have only to give the treaty, or concordat, as it was drawn up on the part of the king, and as it continued to be observed up to the innovations of Joseph II. The Emperor's declaration runs thus:

"I, Henry, by the grace of God, august Emperor of the Romans, for the love of God, of the holy

Roman Church and of Pope Callistus, and for my soul's health, resign to God and to his holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, and to the holy Catholic Church, all investiture by ring and crozier, and concede to all the churches of my realm and empire, the freedom of election and consecration (of bishops). The possessions and royalties of St. Peter, which, from the beginning of this discord to the present day, were taken, either in my sire's time or in my own, I will, so far as they are in my own possession, restore, and assist to the utmost in enforcing restitution by the others (who have usurped them). The same I promise with respect to the rights and property of all the other churches, and of princes and others, whether ecclesiastics or lay persons (who suffered in these respects during the fifty years' war). And to the lord Pope Callistus, to the holy Roman Church, and to all who are now, or who formerly were on its side, I guarantee true peace, pledging myself loyally to aid the holy Roman Church whenever called on so to do.

"All the things here set forth have been done and ratified by the counsel and assent of the princes whose names are subscribed." Then follow the names of the first princes and ministers of the Germanic kingdom. The list is closed by the ratification of the Lord High Chancellor, thus expressed—"Ego Fredericus Coloniensis Episcopus et Cancellarius recognovi." The golden "bull," or seal of the Emperor, was then appended. The instrument

thus executed was deposited in the archives of the Roman Church.* In Cardinal Baronius's time it was to the good; and so, we believe, it is yet.

Thus is vindicated the wisdom, the justice, and the necessity of the programme of Church liberty in the head and in the subordinate members of the hierarchy, insisted on by Hildebrand, at a time when the whole world was in arms against its being carried into execution. The solemn spectacle which was beheld on the borders of the great historic river, when Henry V. received the kiss of peace, and the eucharistic communion from the legate, at the foot of that high altar round which knelt the pride and chivalry of Christendom under the sun-burnished vault of heaven, was the acknowledgment before men and angels that Hildebrand and his successors had "fought the good fight," and that had they not made the stand they did, the hopes of religion, liberty, and civilization would have suffered shipwreck, through their moderation. The door into the fold pointed out by Christ had been, so to speak, barricaded or walled up, by those who, as we saw, flagitiously scaled the sanctuary. In opposition to that of Christ, the Kaiser had opened a door at which there was no admission without the

* "Hoc autem privilegium aureo sigillo ipsius imperatoris munitum, in Archivis Romanæ Ecclesiæ tenetur reconditum."—Ad. an. 1122.

Simon Magus ticket.* The supreme example had such influence that when Hildebrand arose so many gaps had been broken through the enclosure, that nothing but the image of the vineyard of the Lord laid waste by wild boars, and other unclean and savage animals, could give any idea of it. Those who came not to defend or feed, but "to slaughter and ruin," vaulted over as easily as wolves gaunt with hunger—of how it fared with the flock under such guides and protectors, we have seen some proofs. But now the door which is Christ was thrown open once more, and placed in custody of those who from the Apostolic age had charge of it. The Kaiser-gate was walled up, the whole enclosure of the fold restored to its pristine state: the see of Peter was recognized in its sovereign independence, and its temporal rights and patrimony restored. What wonder that after such a consummation, that should have happened which the chronicler relates, namely, that at witnessing this Magna Charta of Christianity thus ratified, the raptures of the countless multitude, so deeply interested in the result, was "infinite?"†

* In the Conference between Henry V. and the legates at Mouson, in the October of 1119, the latter observed,—"If you cease to sell the sees, it will not diminish, but augment your power." Si vous cessez de vendre les évêchés, etc.—*Rohrb.* l. 67, p. 165, *quoting Labbe.* Philip of France sold them: so did almost all the other princes and feudal Barons.

† Hujusmodi scripta atque rescripta propter infinitæ multitudinis conventum, loco campestri juxta Renum lecta sunt, data et

Amongst the ordinances of the Council of Lateran where the foregoing great transaction was arranged, there is one interdicting, under penalty of the severest censures, any invasion or usurpation of "St. Peter's City of Beneventum;" and another against those who coin false money, or make it their study to impose such on the unwary.*

accepta, post que multimodas laudes rerum Gubernatori redditas, celebratis domino Ostiensi divinis sacramentis, inter quæ dominum Imperatorem cum pacis osculo sanctaque communione, plenissime reconciliavit, discessum est ab omnibus *cum lætitia infinita.*"—*Abbas Ursperg. ap Baron.* ad an. 1122. n. 7. The successors of Callistus remained true to their side of the Concordat, which was the law of the empire until the break-up of European society—apparently not over yet—commenced with the innovations of Joseph II.

* "VII. Sub districtione anathematis interdicimus ne aliqua persona Beneventanam B. Petri civitatem præsumat invadere, etc. XV. Si quis monetam falsam scienter fecerit, aut studiose expenderit," &c.—*Vid. Baron.* ad an. 1122. n. 2.

END OF VOL. II.

G. NORMAN, PRINTER, MAIDEN LANE, COVENT GARDEN.

00030076

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 27 February, 2016